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Iraq

BABIL published a three-part article by Barzan al-Tikriti, ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and Saddam's half brother, analyzing the fall of the Soviet Union. One factor in the USSR's demise, he wrote, was that "the system that uses violence weakens itself and that when it goes too far in employing violence it undermines its legitimacy." A "special force" whose mission is to protect Saddam and his palaces has been established, according to the clandestine Voice of the Iraqi People, which added that the force numbers 10,000 troops and is commanded by Saddam's second son, Qusayy.

Arab-Israeli Talks

The Jordanian foreign minister told Amman radio of the "good" talks held in Moscow, while the delegation spokesman, speaking upon returning to Amman, saw "three major gains," AL-DUSTUR disclosed. In a "good conversation," the Israeli foreign minister told his Egyptian counterpart that Cairo officials occasionally issue statements "that should not be expected from friendly countries," Jerusalem radio disclosed. The chief Israeli arms negotiator briefed correspondents on what he expects from his working team's talks, 'AL HAMISHMAR reported.

Israel

Shamir told a fundraising conference that money to be obtained through U.S. loan guarantees "will be devoted only and entirely to the purpose of absorbing the (new immigrants) and not for building settlements," Jerusalem radio reported. The ambassador to Washington announced a compromise offer by Secretary of State Baker concerning a freeze on settlement construction after all building currently under way is completed, the radio continued. The foreign minister said he was "astonished" by the French decision to admit PFLP leader Habash for treatment, Paris radio reported. The attorney general, meanwhile, said he has not been asked to prepare an extradition request for Habash, Jerusalem radio added. The discovery of "borderline, or even deviant, misuse of U.S. military aid" is causing "apprehension" in Israeli industry, DAVAR disclosed.

Palestinian Affairs

The PLO is working to obtain the release of PFLP leader George Habash from a Paris hospital, according to "reliable sources" cited by MENA. Algeria, from which Habash holds a passport, is said to be working with France on the issue, the sources added. Habash's wife, meanwhile, told Radio Monte Carlo that Habash had not suffered a stroke and that he is in France for "routine checks" following exhaustion brought on by tension. A PFLP source in Damascus said that reports about Habash's health are "exaggerated and untrue," the radio added.

Algeria

A homemade bomb thrown at the U.S. Embassy caused no casualties, Paris radio reported. The Algiers governor ordered a total ban on public meetings, Algiers radio reported. Algiers television broadcast Interior Ministry and Police statements on the violence. The foreign minister gave an extensive interview to Algiers radio on internal violence and foreign reaction to it.

Syria

"Stupid theatrics" marked the seizure at Hamburg port of a shipment of 16 T-72 tanks from Poland, "a source close to the Syrian Embassy in Bonn" told Radio Monte Carlo. A Damascus radio commentary termed the Moscow multilaterals a "gross violation" of UN resolutions, while a TISHRIN commentary cited by the radio said the country's boycott of the talks rendered the multilaterals "empty."

Jordan

After receiving the Syrian ambassador, the acting foreign minister told AL-DUSTUR that bilateral relations "should be constantly promoted despite some differences."

Sudan

The Cairo paper AL-WAFD published details of "large-scale Iranian military activity" in ports and cities of the country.

Mauritania

Two losing presidential candidates issued a joint statement warning citizens against violence and anarchy, Nouakchott radio reported. Meanwhile, the interior minister ordered a curfew in Nouakchott and Mouadhibou until further notice, the radio continued.

Islamic Affairs

The Ninth Islamic Thought Conference opened in Tehran with a speech by Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani reported by Tehran radio and IRNA.

Arab-Israeli Talks

Jordan's Abu-Jabir on 'Good' Results

JN3001132092 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The Jordanian delegation which participated in the multilateral conference in Moscow on regional issues in the Middle East will return to Amman this evening.

The conference concluded its meetings yesterday by forming five main committees to discuss the issues of water, environment, development, armament, and refugees. These committees will start their work at the end of April in a number of capitals. A president for each committee and a venue for its meetings have been earmarked.

To evaluate the Moscow conference, our radio telephoned Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir, head of the Jordanian delegation to the conference, who is currently in Moscow. He said:

[Begin recording] We believe that the results of the past two days have been good. We kept the peace process integrated, which is something all the Arab brothers wanted, particularly the Palestinian brothers.

In fact, we were able to give prominence to the Arab viewpoint in a very strong manner. This is very important. The second thing is that we were able to give prominence to the Palestine question and help the Palestinian brothers to attend. Regrettably, they were not able to attend the meetings of this conference, but a promise was given that they would be able to attend the future working sessions at the end of next April and early May. The promise they received was that they would attend at least the committees on refugees and regional development.

In fact, we will have time during this period to assist them in attending the meetings of the other working teams, and this is what they want. As you know, we presented the subject of Jerusalem in a strong way and we demanded the formation of a special committee on Jerusalem. We also strongly demanded the formation of a committee on Palestinian refugee affairs. This committee has been formed, of course, and the Palestinians will be represented in it in a way that satisfies them. [end recording]

Egyptian Foreign Minister Holds Talks

Meets Israel's Levi, Others

NC2901181092 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1500 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar in Moscow today in a meeting attended by PLO Executive Committee member Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh. The discussion dealt with the Arab position on the absence of the Palestinian delegation from the meetings of the working committees set up by the multilateral negotiations conference. It was emphasized that the Palestinian delegation's participation in the meetings is important.

Musa earlier met with the PRC vice foreign minister, who said that his country supports the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and believes that the Palestinian delegation should participate in the multilateral negotiations.

Musa also met with Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi and discussed the situation, efforts being made to promote the peace process, and the importance of efforts to overcome the obstacles which prevent progress in the talks.

In other news, the formulation committee met this afternoon to discuss reports prepared by the multilateral negotiations' five working groups. The radio's Moscow team has learned that the working groups will resume their meetings at the end of April and the beginning of May. An agreement has been reached in principle to hold the environment committee meeting in Japan, the economic cooperation committee meeting in Belgium, the armament and water control committee meeting in Washington, and the refugees committee meeting in Canada. These working groups will hold meetings in the form of expanded seminars during which all issues pertaining to regional cooperation in these fields will be discussed.

Levi Calls Meeting 'Good Conversation'

TA2901170692 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister David Levi met this afternoon with his Egyptian counterpart 'Amr Musa. Minister Levi told our correspondent in Moscow that he had pointed out to Foreign Minister Musa that Egyptian officials occasionally issued statements that should not be expected from friendly countries. Foreign Minister Levi summed up the meeting as a good conversation on the future of the peace process.

Minister Levi also met today with Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow.

Additional Contacts

NC3001214592 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa held a meeting at the Egyptian Embassy in Moscow attended by the Arab foreign ministers and heads of delegations participating in the multilateral talks in Moscow. During the meeting, the conferees evaluated the works of the negotiations and discussed the activities of the working groups which were agreed upon during the talks.

Agreement also was reached on a unified Arab strategy regarding the form of Arab participation in these groups and the methods of presenting Arab ideas before these groups.

Faysal al-Husayni and Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, members of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, attended. [sentence as heard]

Meets PRC Vice Foreign Minister

NC2901134992 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0950 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met this morning with Yang Fuchang, Chinese vice foreign minister and head of his country's delegation to the Middle East multilateral negotiations. After the meeting the head of the Chinese delegation stated that they discussed the problems facing the multilateral talks. He added that 'Amr Musa informed him that the Arab delegations are making intensive efforts to overcome these obstacles.

Yang affirmed that his country wishes to boost the peace process. He explained that China supports the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and will not change its stance on the Palestinian issue.

Briefs Israeli Journalists

TA3001112192 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 30 Jan 92 p 4

[Report on interview with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa by Dan Avidan in Moscow on 29 January]

[Text] Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said yesterday that if Israel does not agree to first make progress in the negotiations of the Arms Control and Regional Security Committee, the Arabs will hold up progress in the negotiations of other committees dealing with regional cooperation.

In an interview given to three Israeli newspapers, including DAVAR, 'Amr Musa said that in Egypt's view, the issue of arms control—particularly the question of making the region free of nuclear weapons (which the Arabs believe Israel possesses)—is of a higher priority than all the other issues discussed in the multilateral negotiations. Musa noted again that without progress on the matter of the Israeli Government's willingness to commit itself to the territories-for-peace formula, the multilateral negotiations stand no chance of progress.

Musa said that, conversely, the moment the Likud government hints that it is ready to adopt the territories-for-peace formula, the entire political process will receive a tremendous push. At the same time, he agreed with the view that Syrian gestures toward Israel in the course of negotiations, such as readiness on the part of the Syrian delegates to conduct the negotiations with Israeli delegates in a more earnest spirit, will contribute toward accelerating the process, as this will help the Israeli public understand that Syria does not oppose the very idea of coexistence alongside Israel. Musa added in this context that his impression from talks with Syrian leaders is that they are willing to sign a peace treaty and to establish normal relations with Israel on condition that Israel withdraws from all of the Golan Heights.

Musa proposed that to resolve the stalemate in the Israeli-Syrian talks, the Israeli delegation head should announce that the Israeli Government is ready to discuss withdrawal from the Golan provided that Syria recognizes Israel; in parallel, the Syrian delegation head will announce that Syria will be ready to recognize Israel if the latter withdraws from the Golan. He disclosed that this proposal was raised once before by the Americans.

'Amr Musa said he will visit Israel soon, but not next month.

On another occasion yesterday, 'Amr Musa said that the participants in the Moscow talks have agreed to pursue the work in all five multilateral committees from early April to late May at locations and on precise dates—out of the many suggestions—to be determined in contacts between the parties. The debates of the committees will be held in the form of seminars, because this is the easiest way to achieve progress in the negotiations. The committee debates should not be moved to the Middle East as long as no progress is achieved on the question of withdrawal from the territories.

Levi Meets Kozyrev; Reacts to Musa Speech

TA3001122692 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 30 Jan 92 p A2

[Report from Moscow by 'Aqiva Eldar]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] During his visit to Moscow, Foreign Minister David Levi met with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The Russian minister asked that Levi's next visit to the Russian capital take place as soon as possible. The date will be decided next week.

Levi met with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and discussed Israel's relations with the EC, prior to Levi's annual meeting with the European foreign ministers.

Yesterday, Levi met with Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, who pressed him on the issue of the deportees. She handed Levi an invitation from the Canadian prime minister to visit Ottawa. It was decided that a Canadian delegation will come to Israel to discuss economic cooperation.

The foreign minister yesterday dined with his Egyptian counterpart 'Amr Musa and exhorted Egypt to serve "as an example of moderation and as a bridge between Israel and the Arab world." Levi called on Egypt not to be so active on controversial issues. This was Levi's comment on Musa's tough speech at the opening of the conference. [passage omitted]

Meets Japanese Foreign Minister

TA2801165392 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 28 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by Moti Bassok in Moscow]

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister David Levi met yesterday in Moscow with the foreign ministers of Turkey and Japan, who participated in the opening of the multilateral peace talks. [passage omitted]

In his meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe, Levi protested that El Al's route to Tokyo has been held up for over a year. The Japanese minister claimed that Tokyo's two airports are jammed and that work on a third will be completed soon, which will solve the problem, although, in addition to Israel, another 41 countries have asked for landing rights in Tokyo. The answer did not satisfy the Israeli foreign minister, and the Japanese minister promised to investigate the issue further. Levi also asked that Japan's bank for the encouragement of exports, which discriminates in favor of the Arab states, also provide credit to Israeli firms and encourage Japanese investment in Israel.

Watanabe said that his country supports the destruction of all nuclear warheads in the world and reducing the arms race.

Delegate Briefs Media on Goal of Arms Talks

TA2801130892 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 28 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Moti Bassok in Moscow]

[Excerpt] "Educating toward a mentality of arms control and mutual trust in the military sphere is difficult and complex. It took the United States and the USSR 15 years to achieve something in that field. We will offer the Arabs, with the full understanding of the superpowers, to do it in stages, step by step, with small steps each time," David 'Ivri, the Defense Ministry director general and head of the Israeli team to the arms control and regional security talks in the Moscow multilateral peace conference, said yesterday.

The heads of the four Israeli teams briefed Israeli correspondents yesterday on the issues to be raised in their committees tomorrow. 'Ivri noted that the subject he is dealing with is relatively new and that it moved into high gear in Israel after the Gulf war. The Israeli position was worked out jointly by the Defense and Foreign Ministries and the Prime Minister's Office. For the moment, it is clear that Israel has more questions than answers. Israel is trying to learn from the experience of others, including the United States and the USSR. Regional security can be reinforced by creating links between the confrontation states during times of tension or extraordinary events. Arms control refers to the weapons themselves, both conventional and nonconventional. A new issue is CBM (confidence-building measures). The process will not be short, and while it is under way, the sides will build up trust between them. 'Ivri stressed that agreements can be reached only if all the states in the region participate. [passage omitted]

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English at 0500 GMT on 28 January reports on 'Ivri's briefing, adding that 'Ivri said that "restricting the supply of weapons to the Middle East without including Syria would not be acceptable to Israel."]

Palestinian Delegate al-Khatib on Representation

JN2801182592 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1617 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Telephone interview with Dr. Ghassan al-Khatib, member of the Palestinian delegation in Moscow, by Khalil al-Qaryuti on 28 January—recorded]

[Text] [al-Qaryuti] Dr. Ghassan, what are the reasons that prevented the Palestinian delegation from participating in the Moscow conference, given the fact that you are in Moscow now?

[al-Khatib] In fact, we came to Moscow with the intention of participating in this conference. The fact that the sponsors accepted the Israeli conditions, however—namely, limiting Palestinian representation to representatives from the West Bank and Gaza only—prevented us from attending this conference even though we wanted to. Consequently, our nonattendance is because of these conditions, and because the U.S. side accepted them, although they do not agree with the positions of all countries participating in this conference, excluding Israel.

[al-Qaryuti] Reports indicate that Palestinian-American contacts are currently being held. What do you have to say about the content of these contacts?

[al-Khatib] In fact, American-Palestinian and European-Palestinian contacts were held. These contacts are in a major direction; namely, attempting to reach a compromise or an outlet for this issue. So far, however, no substantial progress has been made. The only progress made is related to the readiness of the U.S. side and the sponsor countries to allow Palestinians from outside the occupied territories to participate in the works of the committees that will stem from the conference to discuss the various topics. For our part, we consider this important and good progress. It is not enough, however, in terms of our participation in the conference itself, because it does not include the possibility of improving our representation in the conference itself.

[al-Qaryuti] How do you perceive the likely results of the Moscow conference?

[al-Khatib] In fact, this conference is only an inaugural ceremony and a speech festival. It does not intend to discuss detailed or practical issues. Thus, it is not expected to have any results. All that will take place is that the formation of committees will be discussed

tomorrow. In practice, this has already been discussed and agreed upon among the concerned countries.

What is important is that the content of the speeches delivered today had positive points. They focused on the multilateral conference's not diverting the participating countries from the essence and core of the conflict; namely, the Israeli occupation of Arab territories—something on which we agree. Consequently, it must not deflect the concerned countries into discussing secondary issues related to regional issues at the expense of the substantive issues that are discussed in the bilateral negotiations. Also, there was great emphasis on the injustice of the conditions that were imposed on the Palestinians, which obstructed their participation. Hence, the impression created among the concerned diplomats and media was that despite the formal absence of the Palestinians, the content of the Palestine question was very clearly present in these first sessions.

[al-Qaryuti] Thank you Dr. Ghassan al-Khatib, member of the negotiating Palestinian delegation.

[al-Khatib] You are welcome.

Inter-Arab Affairs

Emergency Pan-Arab Conference Meets in Tripoli

LD3001191492 Tripoli JANA in English 1630 GMT 30 Jan 92

["Arab Maghreb Union Pool" item]

[Text] Tripoli, Ay Annar [January] 30 (JANA)—The activities of the national emergency meeting resumed in Tripoli yesterday in order to confront the internal and external threats hanging over Arab nationalism.

The meeting is organised by the permanent secretariat of the Arab Peoples' Congress with the participation of all Arab [word indistinct], parties, organisations and gatherings in the Arab homeland from the ocean to the Gulf.

A number of speeches were made praising the huge efforts exerted by the leader of the revolution towards the realisation of total Arab unity and the elimination of imaginery borders that separate the people of the one Arab nation.

The participants also handled the effective and positive steps that should be taken for the solidarity and support of the great Jamahriyah in facing the new colonialist campaign in order that the whole Arab homeland will be an extension of Libya's attempt to foil the campaign.

Jallud Addresses Closing Session

LD3101094492 Tripoli JANA in English 0819 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Tripoli, Ay Annar [January] 31, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Thursday afternoon Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmad Jallud attended the closing session of the proceedings of the emergency Pan Arab conference for resisting the internal and external dangers threatening Arab nationals with the paticipation of most of the active, organizations and popular forces coming from the entire Arab nation?

The Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmad Jallud gave a speech in which he stressed the importance of establishing comprehensive Arab unity by considering it the only way for this nation to progress and to build itself to live in firm roots. On this subject he stressed the need to bring together all possible Arab energies and resources to resist the colonialist campaign threatening the Arab nation.

Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmad Jallud further called to bypass all negative aspects and instead to redirect towards active work in order to build an Arab force which will enable this nation to assert its standing among nations. He affirmed that the great Jamahiriya is exposed to an unfair colonialist campaign and is paying the price for her firm and principled positions vis-a-vis the decisive causes of the Islamic and Arab world the most important being the Palestinian cause.

Al-Qadhdhafi, Syria's Salihah Meet

JN3001071492 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0415 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Tripoli—Last night, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution in Libya, received comrade Tawfiq Salihah, member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, who is participating in the pan-Arab emergency meeting for political Arab organizations and forces. The meeting was attended by Majd-al-Din Nashid, acting chief of the Syrian Arab relations office in Tripoli.

The talks dealt with relations of brotherhood between Syria and Libya, and issues of mutual concern. Comrade Salihah conveyed President Hafiz al-Asad's greetings and appreciation for Colonel al- Qadhdhafi and the brotherly Libyan people. He stressed Syria's support for Libya against the threats it is facing.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi conveyed through comrade Salihah his brotherly greetings and high appreciation for President Hafiz al- Asad. He said: We thank Syria for its support for the Libyan Jamahiriyah. Struggler President Hafiz al-Asad has accustomed us to such positions toward challenges requiring unified pan-Arab action. He stressed that Syria and Libya stand in the same trench to confront the enemies of the Arab nation and defend its fateful issues, especially the Palestinian cause.

Arab League Chief Departs Marrakech for Libya

NC2501205392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1917 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Marrakech, 25 Jan (MENA)—MENA has learned that Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid today left for Tripoli, Libya. Responsible Arab

sources said that Libyan revolution leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi is expected to meet with 'Abd-al-Majid. MENA has also learned that Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid decided to visit Libya today; he was scheduled to leave Marrakech for Cairo tomorrow. 'Abd-al-Majid participated in the meeting chaired by Morocco's King Hassan II yesterday and attended by a number of Arab foreign ministers.

Arab League Urges Somalis To Observe Cease-Fire

NC2701195292 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1142 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Jan (MENA)—The Arab League has expressed its concern over the dangerous situation developing in Somalia, which constitutes a growing threat to Somali national and territorial unity and to regional security.

The League affirmed that if the situation remains the same, it will have grave consequences for security in the Horn of Africa, which is an indivisible part of international peace and security.

The Arab League issued a statement today expressing its deep regret over the tragic situation the Somali people are experiencing and over the thousands of casualities there, as well as the terrible deterioration in health, education, and social services, the collapse of Somalia's economic structure, and the paralysis of the state's structures and institutions.

In its statement the Arab League welcomed the Security Council resolution issued last Thursday on Somalia. The League praised it as a necessary and advanced step toward integrating international action with Arab action. This Arab action is seen in the meetings of the Arab League Council and the resolutions passed during the ordinary and extraordinary session it held on this issue to preserve the security, unity, and independence of Somalia, an Arab League member.

The statement said that while the Arab League hopes for the implementation all the paragraphs of this resolution, it affirms once more its call to all Somali sides to adhere immediately to the cease-fire agreement in all parts of Somalia so that conflicts can be solved peacefully through dialogue and national reconciliation, which are the only means to stop the shedding of Somali blood and maintain the higher national interests.

The Arab League confirmed its readiness to cooperate fully with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to implement all the paragraphs of this resolution as soon as possible.

'Abd-al-Majid Praises Libyan Response to Charges

NC3001142892 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1401 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Cairo, 30 Jan (MENA)—Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid today reviewed with Arab League permanent delegates the outcome of his talks with Moroccan King Hassan II and Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution.

The secretary general said that Libya's reaction to French, UK, and U.S. accusations concerning the crash of a U.S. plane in 1988 and a French plane in 1989 was sensible and responsible and that Libya dealt with the issue in a reasonable manner.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid underlined the need to coordinate Arab positions ahead of the UN Security Council meeting scheduled for later tonight.

*Paper Views Reaction to Events in Algeria

924F0294A Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jan 92 p 4

[Article by Near East correspondent Francoise Chipaux: "Reverse for Democratic Movement in Arab World"]

[Text] Nicosia—Most Arab government have maintained a discreet silence about the events in Algeria. To be sure, most are secretly pleased to see the breakdown of a democratic process few want to see established in their own country.

The press, however, harps about the risk of civil war in Algeria and the negative effects the breakdown could have on Middle East political development. It is also a major setback for democracy in the Arab world, where leaders will be able to point to the Algerian example as justification for remaining even more deaf than before to appeals for power sharing. For while the vote for the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] expressed a total rejection of the single [ruling] party, it also showed the profound resentment felt by those whom development has left behind—a phenomenon hardly unique to Algeria.

While most Arab editorialists acknowledge there were justifiable fears about the consequences of the FIS coming to power, the great majority believe the experiment should have been given a chance, if only to keep the people from losing all faith in democracy.

"The Islamists' right to govern if they win an election should not have been challenged," writes AL-AYYAM of Bahrain. "The situation was not simple, but army intervention will have the very same result that was feared in case of a FIS victory: the abolition of pluralism." This experiment unique in the Arab world (democracy in Jordan—where the Muslim Brothers won the elections—is broadly tempered by the king's powers) inspired hope in the hearts of many.

As an editorialist for the daily AL KHALEEJ in United Arab Emirates wrote recently, "knowing that the success of the Algerian experiment could promote democracy throughout the Arab world, many Arab and international circles are doing their best to ensure its failure and prove... that the Arab world is inhospitable to democracy." Indeed, one finds echoes of such thoughts in the

West, where some have hastened to question "the applicability of representative democracy to societies that are still archaic."

Inciting Islamists

More serious perhaps for the future, the sudden shutdown of the ongoing democratic process risks confirming Islamists throughout the region in their belief that democracy is indeed the "shameful farce" they have always denounced. By depriving them of their ballot-box victory, the Algerian example can serve only to persuade them that violence is the only path to achieving their goals. "Because, in the last analysis, what sort of democracy is it, when it is only valid so long as the ruling party wins, or—even worse—so long as a particular opposition group is defeated?" asks an editorialist for AL HAYAT, the Saudi paper in London. "Such a radicalization could burn the last bridges between governments and their peoples."

Perhaps the only way to debunk the myth of the FIS—and more, the myth of the Islamist political solutions themselves—would have been to let the FIS, within constitutional limits, demonstrate its inability to resolve the problems Algeria faces. The hard-line Islamist model—adopted by the destitute and the despairing—has been put to the test in Iran, where its failure is patent, even though the eight-year war against Iraq served to attenuate, in the minds of many, the depth of its flaws.

Iran, which mobilized to support "the Algerian Muslim people," is denouncing "the deliberate conspiracy to deprive the FIS of political power." However, Iran's vice president, Mr. Hassan Habibi, said that "obviously the people of a country that has a remarkable anticolonialist past will never consent to be governed by force."

In an Arab world where oppression is more widespread than freedom, the Algerian failure will come as a bitter blow to all who had hoped they too could participate in the heralded new era of democracy and human rights.

Islamic Affairs

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Opens Islamic Congress

LD2901190992 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Iranian President Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani opened the ninth Islamic conference entitled: Imam Khomeyni and the worldwide mission of Islam. The conference began its work today in Tehran with the participation of 400 Islamic ulema and academicians from 47 countries. Our correspondent reports on that occasion.

[Unidentified correspondent] In his inaugural speech, President Hashemi-Rafsanjani thanked the ulema and academicians who participated in the conference, designed to explain the role of Imam Khomeyni, may he be admitted to God's paradise, in the worldwide mission of Islam.

Referring to the international situation and collapse of Marxism he said: Now the victory of the Islamic revolution has opened up a new horizon for the world to see. At the same time, the materialist world has brought into question the power of a government based on Islamic ideology and aspiration to respond to the demands of human societies and their welfare.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani recalled that with the collapse of Marxist governments, the world of arrogance is bent on concluding that the era of all governments based on ideology is now over and that today materialist regimes, divorced from moral and humanistic thoughts, must rule over world societies.

The president of Iran's Islamic Republic called on the Muslim thinkers present at the conference to reply, in their speeches, to the question posed by the materialist world, with regard to whether or not ideology and aspiration could function as the foundatiuon for governments in societies.

Stressing that Islam is capable of running the affairs of human societies, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: If during the darkness of the middle ages there was need for Islam, then the need of contemporary darkness is no less than that.

He added: When the world ignores the rights of between 70 and 80 percent of the Muslim people of Algeria, then what difference can be found between today and the Middle Ages?

Continuing his remarks the president said: Islam's success in responding to both the material and spiritual needs of the world is the source of all attacks, hatred, and hostilities against us. Topics such as fundamentalism, extremism, and the like, which are used against us, stem from the fact that materialists are worried about Islam's sovereignty. The reason why the materialists are afraid of the Islamic revolution today is that a successful experiment is now inviting the peoples of the world to experience a governance based on morality, aspiration, and ideology. They tell the youth of the world nations that Islam is an ideological movement which must, like the church, be on the periphery of the life of the people, while the administration of global affairs is entrusted to those who belong to the world of temporal affairs. In fact, that is where we fight our war with global infidelity.

The president recommended to the Islamic thinkers present at the meeting that the basis of the propaganda of Islamic missionaries must be comprehensive. He added: A comprehensive Islam is one which proves that Islamic ideology is capable of running the world affairs; it is the brand of Islam which moves to bring about equilibrium between the material and spiritual dimensions of life.

He said: All the hostilites which have been waged against us, and are being waged now, and the war which was imposed on us, inflicting more than $1 billion [as heard; the figure usually given by Rafsanjani is $1 trillion] worth of damage, are all due to the same cause. Presently we take pride in the fact that despite all the propaganda they wage against us, today we are building our infrastructure faster than any other country. We have been successful, under wartime conditions and other difficulties within our means, and without dependence, in energy sources, steel and iron industries, petrochemicals, gas and oil, armaments, and consumer industries. We think that the Islamic ummah can continue on that path only if their leaders and managers publicize Islam in a comprehensive manner.

Continuing his remarks Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani referred to the existence of a very strong leadership during the years of the Islamic revolution victory, and also to the wise, skillful, all-knowing, and artful leadership of His Eminence Ayatollah Khamane'i, the present leader of the Islamic revolution, as well as to the geographical situation, natural resources, and especially the self- sacrificing people of Iran as the factors which brought about the success of the Islamic revolution. He added: You can have all these factrors put together in many other countries. You can benefit from the exprinces of the Islamic revolution. Anything the Koran, Islam, Islamic brethern, and Islamic movements may want of us, we will be responsive to the extent which international criteria allow.

In another part of his remarks the president suggested that the present time is a suitable juncture for the sovereignty of Islamic values. He said: Today the world faces a contradiction. While their usual slogan is democracy and defense of the peoples' sovereignty, their deeds are against such slogans. If today a polll was carried out among the people of the Islamic countries, the people would vote for Koranic rule. The people are well aware that the rule of the people's votes is definitely in the interests of Islam. Today arrogance must make its choice between its slogans and deeds. Of course, in Algeria, Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon, arrogance has proved that they cannot accept the votes of the people. Today many freedom-lovers in the world have a problem with the West on account of the Algerian problem.

Today, the West has forgotten the identity on which it relied for many decades, and the slogans which it cherished in defense of human rights and democracy. Most of their onslaught against the nations, especially their recent onslaught against Iraq, were waged with such weapons. But their move in Algeria is precisely in contradiction with those slogans. In any case, that contradiction is now clear to the peoples of the world. We must utilize this opportunity which has come our way to present Islam's lofty values to the world.

'Unprecedented' Status of Islam Seen

LD2901123992 Tehran IRNA in English 1138 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 29, IRNA—President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani Wednesday described the present status of world Muslims as "historic, exceptional and unprecedented" in the history of Islam.

President Hashemi-Rafsanjani made the remark in his opening speech to the 'Ninth Islamic Thought Conference' here today attended by 400 Islamic intellectuals and scholars from 47 countries.

He pointed to the collapse of Marxism and the hasty conclusion of the international arrogance saying that its failure was due to its being founded on ideology.

The president stressed that Muslims enjoy a vast and enourmous heritage and culture and at one time saved Europe and a large part of the world from darkness and tyranny. There is no reason at present time that the same path should not be taken up suitable to the conditions of the time.

He argued that now that the rights of the majority of the Algerian nation is ignored and a military move has been justified, one finds no improvement compared to eight centuries back.

The president said hostility of international arrogance against Iran is motivated by Islamic beliefs and ideology because the West is highly concerned that the Islamic revolution of Iran will encourage Muslims elsewhere.

He stressed that Iran is through with the preliminary stages of campaign against international arrogance and is now engaged in reconstruction efforts. Every revolution passes through those phases, he added.

President Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that in spite of the 1980-88 imposed war which inflicted over dlrs. 1,000,000 million damage on Iran, the country was least dependent on international arrogance.

He announced Iran's readiness to put its experience at the disposal of any liberation movement and reiterated that the Islamic revolution was not confined to Iran rather it is a base which must be preserved.

"The Islamic movement does not need to rebel against the international order. We can work within the limits of international regulations. The time is ripe for Islamic movements since imperialism is entrapped in contradictions and we must take advantage of it."

Muslim World League Issues Press Statement

LD2901230292 Riyadh SPA in English 1936 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Makkah, Jan 28, SPA—The Constituent Council of the Muslim World League [MWL] condemned on

Tuesday the Israeli practices against the Palestinian people and sacrilege of the holy places, especially the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The Council, in a press release issued at the end of its 31st session in Makkah today, urged for a lasting and durable peace to be established in the Middle East as per the resolutions of the Security Council No. 242 and 338.

The Council denounced migration to the occupied Palestine and called for the stop of construction of settlements on the occupied Arab territories.

It also deplored the decision of the Israeli Government to deport Palestinian citizens and condemned the attack on the Sharia Court in Al-Quds and the seizure of its documents.

The Council urged for humanitarian aid to be extended to Iraqis who fled repression at the hands of the Iraqi Army and urged the Islamic organisations and institutions to work for alleviating the sufferings of the Muslim Kurds.

The Council emphasised that a comprehensive solution of the Afghan problem would boost security and stablity in the region in particular and the world in general and appealed to Islamic Governments and organisation to support the Afghan Mujahideen politically, morally and materially.

It urged the United Nations and the peace-loving nations to solve the issue of Kashmir according to the 1949 security council resolution which called for a plebiscite to be organised under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Council condemned the persecution of the Muslim people of Kashmir.

Regarding the plight of Philippines Muslims, the Council called on the Philippines Government to grant autonomy to them.

The Council upheld the efforts of the Organisation of Islamic Conference in association with the MWL to hold a dialogue with the Philippines Government.

Regarding Muslims in Sri Lanka, the Council asked the MWL and other Islamic organisation to extend a helping hand to Sri Lankan Muslims who have been victimized by the communal strife in their country and urged the Sri Lankan Government to take measures to protect them against terrorist acts.

The Council also asked the MWL secretariat general to contact the feuding factions in Somalia in order to stop killing and the formation of a national reconciliation government.

The Council took note of the plight of the Muslim minorities in Liberia, Guinea, Ivory Coast and China.

The Council congratulated the independent Islamic states which broke away from the Soviet Union and welcomed their return and admission to the bloc of Muslim nations.

It urged Muslim governments and organisations to maintain close relations with the newly independent states.

The Council called for aid and assistance to be extended to the Muslim minorities worldwide.

The Council emphasised the need for boosting the Islamic dawa (call).

Meanwhile, members of the Council and Muslim scholars have expressed their deep thanks and profound appreciation to Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz for his support of the Islamic action and Islamic causes.

The Council considered the address made by King Fahd to the opening session of the 31st session of the Council as a basic document of their meeting.

The Council praised the Islamic initiative of King Fahd.

Palestinian Affairs

PFLP Urges France To Release Habash

Detention 'Defies Human Values'

NC3101115992 Paris AFP in English 1047 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Damascus, Jan 31 (AFP)—The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) on Friday called on the French Government to allow the departure from France of its secretary general George Habash, held in a Parisian hospital.

In an interview with AFP in Damascus, the assistant secretary general of the PFLP, Abu-'Ali Mustafa, described as "abominable and surprising" the French decision to hold Habash for questioning.

"We ask the French Government to allow Mr. Habash to leave France because it's no longer an honor for us that he is cared for in a country which defies human values," he said.

Habash, a radical Palestinian leader whose organisation has claimed a number of terrorist attacks, was flown to France where he was admitted to hospital on Wednesday evening after reportedly suffering a stroke.

His presence in France has sparked off a political row, prompting the dismissal of three top government officials and the resignation of a presidential advisor.

PLO Seeking Habash Departure 31 Jan

NC3101144492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1410 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Tunis, 31 Jan (MENA)—The PLO is exerting enormous efforts to contain the furor that has risen in Paris over George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Reliable sources told a MENA correspondent in Tunis that the PLO's efforts focus on getting Habash released from Paris today to be treated in another capital. These sources disclosed that Algeria is working with the French Government to arrange for Habash's departure from Paris in view of the fact that he holds an Algerian passport.

Habash was taken to Paris yesterday after suffering a stroke, and according to Palestinian sources, he was taken aboard a French Red Cross plane the PLO chartered yesterday after official approval from the French Foreign and Interior Ministries. Information available here stressed that Habash and the French doctors refused an attempt to interrogate him yesterday as matter of principle and not for medical reasons.

France Asked To Look After Habash

NC3101150092 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Tunis, Jan 31 (AFP) - A surprised and embarrassed PLO here asked France Friday to take good medical care of George Habash, a radical Palestinian leader placed under police guard in a Paris hospital.

The Palestine Liberation Organization leadership took with "great surprise and embarrassment" events regarding Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, official PLO spokesman Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman said.

"France of the 1789 universal revolution and of human rights, of which the most basic is the right to treatment to save lives, can only be faithful to these principles by reserving the best treatment to Palestinian leader George Habash," 'Abd-al-Rahman told AFP.

After stressing the "strictly humanitarian aspect" of Habash's trip to France for treatment of a stroke, the PLO spokesman said "the Palestinian leadership chose France to provide medical for leader George Habash, because of friendly relations tying this country to the Arab world and the Palestinian people."

He added: "We are confident that France under the leadership of President Francois Mitterrand will provide good care to the Palestinian leader."

Reports on Habash Condition 'Exaggerated'

JN3001143992 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The reports on George Habash's transfer to France have said that he suffered a stroke which caused hemiplegia. The serious condition of his health required his immediate transfer to France. In the absence of any official information on the true condition of George Habash's health, we contacted the French hospital (En Rue de Nom), a short while ago, and spoke with Mrs. Habash, Umm-Maysa', who said that her husband did not suffer a stroke or anything of the kind. She added that he came to France for routine checks after he felt exhausted recently due to work tension. Umm-Maysa' expressed resentment at the media campaign aimed at describing George Habash's health condition as very serious, adding that her husband disembarked the plane yesterday on his own and that he is in excellent physical and mental condition.

In Damascus, a responsible source at the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine said that George Habash enjoys good health and that his condition is stable. The source added that the reports about his health are exaggerated and untrue. [passage omitted]

'Abd-al-Shafi—Talks With Israel Must Go On

JN3001194592 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, chief Palestinian delegate to the bilateral talks, said today that it would be better if negotiations with Israel continue, even if settlement activity continues in the occupied land. REUTER quotes Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi as telling journalists in his Gaza office that suspension of the negotiations will not bring about a halt to settlement building. If anything, he added, such a development will please Israel. If the Palestinians fail to put in an appearance during the stage, the world will forget their cause, said 'Abd-al-Shafi.

'Abd-al-Shafi Leaves Amman for Gaza 28 Jan

JN2901104892 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 29 Jan 92 p 28

[By 'Abdallah al-Qaq]

[Text] Amman—Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the negotiating Palestinian delegation, left Amman for Gaza yesterday following a short visit to Amman after his return from Washington.

In a predeparture statement to AL-DUSTUR, Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi said that he believes that the next peace talks will be held in Washington in mid-February to discuss various issues related to the peace process. He expressed regret over the non-participation of the Palestinian delegation in the multilateral talks. He said: Placing obstacles and conditions before the Palestinian delegation in Moscow is an obstacle to achieving peace in the region. We call for removing all obstacles that obstructed the Palestinian delegation's full participation. I also call on the two cosponsors to facilitate Palestinian participation.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi stressed that the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories constitute an obstacle to achieving a just and lasting peace in the region.

It is worth mentioning that Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi is not a member of the Palestinian delegation in Moscow, and that Palestinian Advisory Council Chairman Faysal al-Husayni is leading the delegation.

'Urayqat Comments on Negotiations With Israelis

TA2801194992 Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 27 Jan 92 p 16

[Interview with Sa'ib 'Urayqat, member of Palestinian negotiating delegation, by Khalid Abu-'Akir; date and place not given]

[Text] Q: Ever since the third round of Washington negotiations, the delegation has been talking about achievements, but on the practical side, the Palestinian citizen has not felt any achievements on the ground. How do you explain this?

A: There shouldn't be exaggerations when talking about achievements, and what happened (in Washington) shouldn't be called successes. What happened was that Israel backed down from its opposition to negotiations along two tracks and acknowledged what the U.S. letter of invitation had to say about two tracks.

It is well known that, in the first round of Washington talks, the Israeli delegation tried to force the joint Palestinian- Jordanian delegation to be the negotiating structure, turning the Palestinian issue into a technicality. In the last round of negotiations, Israeli regression occurred when the Palestinian track was admitted to being independent.

Q: What forced Israel to back down from its previous position? Was it Palestinian-Jordanian insistence on the two-track principle?

A: The reasons Israel backed down are: First, the Israeli government knew that the Palestinian delegation would not start negotiations except in a Palestinian-Israeli track, i.e. that the Palestinian team is the only one with authority to speak on behalf of the interests of the Palestinian people.

Second, the Israeli delegation wanted to get past the corridors in the second round for reasons having to do with loan guarantees. Israel wanted to claim that it is committed to the peace process, so that it can say now that there are no obstacles for the United States to grant the loan guarantees.

Third, the problem was solved without American intervention.

Fourth, Israel didn't want to place obstacles in front of the multilateral conference, because it expects great economic gain from this conference.

Fifth, the proximity of Israeli elections. This is a public relations campaign aiming to show that Likud is in favor of the peace process, when all it did is agree on a procedural issue, not substantive issues.

I would like to mention that the Israeli concession came by fax to the Palestinian delegation and the Jordanian delegation on the 10th of this month—three days before the round began.

Q: What about the negotiations?

A: The negotiations began with the Palestinian delegation handing the Israeli delegation a comprehensive view of the peace process. This view can be summarized in the following points:

1- Confirmation of the unity of the Palestinian people and a confirmation that the PLO is the sole representative of this people.

2- Confirmation of the struggle of the Palestinian people toward freedom and independence.

3- Confirmation of the legitimacy of the Intifada and a confirmation that it will continue to be part of the Palestinian struggle for freedom.

4- Upholding U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions 181 (partition), 194 (refugees' right of return), 242 and 338.

5- The rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, establishment of an independent state, and return.

6- International reaction to the declaration of independence in 1988.

7- Recognition of these points as a base for negotiations because they, along with the rest of the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, comprise international legitimacy.

8- Execution of Security Council Resolution 242, i.e. withdrawal from all lands occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem.

9- Immediate halt to all settlement activity; this is a condition for continuing the peace process.

10- Recognition that East Jerusalem is part and parcel of the occupied territories; international resolutions pertain to it.

11- Tying the interim phase to the final phase, based on Israeli withdrawal from all lands occupied in 1967.

12- Insistence on the return of the refugees of 1967 and deportees.

13- The right of Palestinians to return according to U.N. General Assembly resolution 194 of 1949.

Q: What were the points of the agenda you presented to the Israelis?

A: They include the duties of the interim government, and the steps required to create an atmosphere conducive to the creation of an interim Palestinian government, which are:

1- Halting all settlement activity in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

2- Announcing the application of the Fourth Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the occupied territories.

3- Guaranteeing international protection for the Palestinian people under occupation.

Q: What was the Israeli reaction to this view, especially since Israel rejects all the points you just mentioned?

A: The chief Israeli delegate, Elyaqim Rubinstein, told Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi the next day that he hadn't slept that night, and that he was afraid, because what the Palestinian delegation proposed was suicide for Israel.

Dr Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi told him that Israelis must learn that they cannot ignore history and its realities, because the Palestinian nation is the same as any other nation. He told him that there can be no view of peace without an acknowledgment of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. He told him that Israel should deal with realities and stop ignoring why there is no peace in the region.

Arab 'Satisfaction' With Palestinian Boycott Seen

TA2801192892 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Report by Udi Segal, correspondent in the territories]

[Text] There is satisfaction in the territories and East Jerusalem with the Palestinian delegation's nonparticipation in the multilateral talks in Moscow. Their refusal to participate may have lost the Palestinians a few points with countries participating in the talks, but in the territories they enjoy almost full support.

Palestinian notables have said that the general public is pleased with the delegation's stand and with its refusal to buckle. Again and again, they reiterated the argument that diaspora and East Jerusalem representatives should also participate in the discussion of issues such as refugees and arms. The public believes that the Palestinian insistence on those points has enhanced the delegation's image.

The aptest expression of the territories' support is the fact that a general strike was not held there today, unlike in the past when a strike called by rejectionist organizations was fully observed each time the delegation left for talks in Madrid and Washington. Today, half-hearted strike calls were issued by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement], but they were not heeded.

It should be remembered, however, that the decision to stay away from the Moscow talks was not made by the Palestinian delegates from the territories, but by the PLO, whose thinking is not influenced by the Palestinian public in the territories and East Jerusalem. As for the Palestinian representatives, they recommended not to go to Moscow at all. Their recommendation was prompted by severe popular criticism saying that the delegation gives in to Israeli and American dictums.

Whatever the reason, the public in the territories thinks highly of the Palestinian refusal to participate in the talks on terms set by the United States, and unlike in the past, the delegation has recently scored high with the Arab population in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza.

PLO's al-Najjab Comments on Multilateral Talks

TA3101112192 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Sulayman al-Najjab, member of the PLO Executive Committee, by Dan Avidan in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [Avidan] Now that the first round of the multilateral talks has ended without the Palestinians, can I ask you why you came to Moscow at all and made such a fuss?

[Al-Najjab] We want the process of political accommodation started in Madrid and continued in Moscow to succeed, but we think two points have been neglected: One, the need to distinguish between the bilateral negotiations, which constitute the basis of the process, and the multilateral negotiations, which constitute the broader framework designed to pave the way to peaceful relations. We are totally convinced that the success of the multilateral negotiations hinges on the success of the bilateral negotiations.

[Avidan] But this position is not unique to the Palestinian delegation; it is shared by all the Arabs, and they took part in the negotiations in Moscow which you boycotted.

[Al-Najjab] Two, we did not absent ourselves from the negotiations by choice. We submitted the list of Palestinian delegates who were supposed to take part in the multilateral negotiations. The cosponsors, however, accepted some of the delegates and rejected others, although they had no right to do so. We are not prepared to accept such a split and such discrimination between representatives of one and the same people.

We accepted the Madrid formula (a Palestinian delegation made up only from inhabitants of the territories) to facilitate the launching of the political negotiations. The reason was that, according to the Madrid formula, the Palestinian delegation would be conducting negotiations concerning the interim period (in the territories), which is meant to facilitate the implementation of UN Resolution 242. According to the Madrid formula, we agreed to

a phased implementation of Resolution 242. What we accepted in Madrid as part of a specific stage cannot apply to the entire Palestinian people when the negotiations deal with the permanent arrangements.

[Avidan] Was your boycott of the Moscow talks affected by the fact that the Syrians did not show up?

[Al-Najjab] You must distinguish between the political positions of Syria, Jordan, the PLO, and other Arab countries, which emphasize the need to attain progress in the bilateral negotiations in order to facilitate the multilateral ones, and the argument over how to approach the multilateral negotiations.

[Avidan] What happened in the meeting between Faysal al- Husayni, Hannan 'Ashrawi, and James Baker on Wednesday night?

[Al-Najjab] As I understood it, Baker reiterated the U.S. position supporting the participation of Palestinians from the diaspora in some of the multilateral committees scheduled to convene in the spring.

[Avidan] Do you think the Palestinians will ultimately participate in the committee deliberations in the spring?

[Al-Najjab] This depends on the correlation between the bilateral and the multilateral activities. For example, it would make no sense to start serious discussions in the multilateral committees as long as settlement continues.

[Avidan] Are you creating a linkage between a halt in settlement and the participation of the Palestinians in the multilateral negotiations?

[Al-Najjab] It is not a linkage, but how can economic relations and cooperation between Israel and the Arab countries begin while the Israeli Government persists in violating UN Security Council resolutions and continues settling the territories? This question should be addressed to the Israeli Government. The sponsoring countries have announced their adherence to the UN resolutions and the need to implement them.

Factions Hail Syrian Boycott of Moscow Talks

JN2901073292 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0415 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Damascus—Palestinian popular and professional organizations in Syria have announced their rejection of the multilateral negotiations currently taking place in Moscow. In a joint statement distributed in Damascus yesterday, they valued Syria's pan-Arab stand of boycotting the talks, its constant embodiment of the unity of Arab struggle, and its insistence on attaining the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. They also saluted President Hafiz al-Asad's firm and unyielding positions toward these rights.

The organizations also valued the positions of the Arab countries that refused to participate in the negotiations out of their firm and constant concern for national and pan-Arab rights. They viewed the multilateral negotiations as a means to maintain the fait accompli, deflect and alienate the Arab-Zionist conflict, and make reconciliation with the Zionist entity.

For its part, the staff command of the Palestine Liberation Army has stressed that the multilateral talks heighten Israel's intransigence, allow the enemy government to escalate its anti-peace provocations, and facilitate recognition of the aggressive Israeli presence, which is based on falsehood, usurpation of rights, and occupation of lands. A spokesman for the command said yesterday that the negotiations pose real threats to the process of a just and comprehensive peace and constitute a disregard for the main components and requirements of peace as set by international legitimacy.

The spokesman valued Syria's pioneering and pan-Arab rejection of these negotiations and stressed full solidarity with Syria, its firm pan-Arab principles, and its adherence to Arab rights. The spokesman urged all honorable and militant Arab masses to rally behind this pan-Arab position, embodied by al-Asad's Syria, in defense of Arab existence and dignity. He valued Lebanon's position, which is in line with the genuine Arab stance. The spokesman said that brave Syria under struggler President Hafiz al- Asad, which stressed concern about a just and a comprehensive peace and greatly responded to peace efforts, now represents the Arabs' mecca and conscience, and the leading force capable of foiling enemy designs. This, added the spokesman, makes it inevitable for all Arabs to rally around this pan-Arab role of struggling Syria under President Hafiz al-Asad so as to realize the Arab nation's objectives of liberating its lands, protecting its national rights, and securing its existence, future, and dignity.

Meanwhile, Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Salvation Front, has described Palestinian nonparticipation in the multilateral negotiations, which opened in Moscow yesterday, as a positive and right step. In a statement to Radio Monte Carlo last night, he said the step will help strengthen the comprehensive Palestinian national unity.

For her part, Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, has stressed that Israel is working to torpedo the peace process in the region. Radio Orient quoted 'Ashrawi as telling a press conference in Moscow yesterday that the Israelis are entrenching their occupation of the Arab land and violating human rights in an attempt to torpedo the peace process.

Commentaries Analyze Status of Peace Process

Baker Looking Through 'Israeli Spectacles'

LD2901233692 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1800 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Excerpt] At the end of the first day of the multilateral negotiations which began in Moscow yesterday, and in

light of the contents of the speech by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the opening session, it can be said that the U.S. decision is still dependent on Israeli intransigence, which aims at preventing any Palestinian participation in the multilateral negotiations, and ultimately deflect the peace efforts from their targets so that they serve the Israeli interests, aspirations, and ambitions. This was expressed yesterday by the Israeli delegation spokesman Dani [surname indistinct] who said: Ahead of us there is a lot to be gained from this kind of meeting. People have come to us from faraway countries, such as the Gulf states, with whom we have neither borders nor conflicts. The taboos have fallen and they are prepared to talk to us.

The U.S. secretary of state does not see reality. When he looks at peace in the region through Israeli spectacles he does not see the vicious circles created by Israel's impossible conditions, which reject any Palestinian participation from aborad or from Jerusalem in the negotiations. This eradicates the U.S. sincerity and strengthens the conviction of the Palestinians and all the parties boycotting the negotiations, to the effect that the U.S. sponsor is not qualified to carry out the tasks entrusted to it, a matter which ultimately means that the U.S. efforts to continue the action and to push forward the peace process without actual pressures is no more than a time-wasting operation. This means subjecting the region to new crises and explosive situations arising at any moment.

If our negotiators had yesterday dealt positively with the proposal by the U.S. secretary of state and expressed a readiness to study it—the proposal which stipulates the participation of Palestinians in the diaspora and Jerusalem at a later stage in the negotiations committees—that was because of their true desire to push forward the efforts being made so that they can attain their objectives; similarly, their presence in Moscow means their desire to participate in the peaceful efforts on condition that these efforts are compatible with their rights derived from the resolutions of international legitimacy.

No doubt that as much as the United States is determined and truthful in its proposals and efforts, and is in harmony with the resolutions of international legitimacy, one can believe that the negotiations have started in the direction of realizing the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the region for freedom and peace. A thorough study of the outcome of the first day of the multilateral negotiations confirms that Israel has realized great diplomatic gains through the Arab presence, especially the Gulf, without in return giving the Arabs any concessions, neither in the multilateral nor in the bilateral negotiations.

The negotiations currently taking place in Moscow cannot manufacture a real peace as long as the Palestinians are absent and as long as the negotiations do not depend on the real issues, which regard the Palestinian question as being the core of the conflict in the region. [passage omitted]

Palestinians 'Deprived' of Participation

TA3001195792 Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 30 Jan 92 pp 1, 11

[Editorial: "From the 'Multilaterals' to the 'Bilaterals' and Vice Versa!"]

[Text] When U.S. Secretary of State James Baker says that we have lost an important opportunity by not participating in the Moscow conference, he seems to contradict even himself. The U.S. Administration, represented by Mr. Baker, deprived us of this participation at a time when our delegation prepared itself to the utmost to participate, on an equal footing with the other parties, countries, and nations in this international or "multilateral" conference. This is the name that satisfies Israel and on which it also insists.

The one that really lost the opportunity is the American sponsor, who backed down from his previous obligations in this connection. The one clinging to that opportunity as well as to any available opportunity is our Palestinian people, who have shown and continue to show sufficient flexibility without losing their legitimate status as an integral and cohesive people wherever they may reside. They are doing so in order to achieve a political settlement based on international legitimacy and for the sake of a genuine peace that will ensure stability and progress for the entire region and for all the countries concerned, which maintain political and economic ties with this important region.

At any rate, the road is long and complicated and is exposed to further obstacles and impediments. Therefore, we know that other rounds of bilateral negotiations are waiting along this road. This calls for clarity and impartiality in the position of the U.S. sponsor because of his effective role. If there is to be a serious linkage between the "multilaterals" and these upcoming bilateral negotiations, we assume that this linkage will be made to enhance the executive and applicative foundations of the land-for-peace principle. For this reason the U.S. sponsor should immediately "persuade" the Israeli Government to move toward accepting this principle and begin, for its part, to implement the resolutions of international legitimacy.

If all this does not take place, many perils will endanger the region and all peaceful aspirations regardless of what the results of the Moscow "multilaterals" might be, now or tomorrow.

Shamir Motives Viewed

LD2801224792 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] Brothers: It seems that the whole world, and somehow perhaps, President Bush and the United

States, in the shadow of its new world order, are endeavoring to confront Shamir in order to implement Shamir's project itself.

When one returns to the existing conflict, its roots and its background, one sees the great difference between what the de facto situation imposes, and the minimum required by logic.

From the outset, while preparing for convening the second phase of the peace process which began with the Madrid conference, Shamir appeared to be driven to this phase—the phase of bilateral talks—by the pretext of the time and place [of the conference].

It also appears as if some rift arose between the United States and the Zionist entity, between Bush and Shamir, regarding the role of each of them, a rift that reached the extent of challenging the prestige of the new world order and its power, due to intransigence on the timing for convening this phase. Bush wants to impose the will of his country, and Shamir wants to impose his will, and all this is but one of the whirlpools of the process, and perhaps not the most difficult one. And the whole process was undertaken in order to implement Shamir's plan itself.

The same scenario is repeated almost every time, and the same is also true when facing certain propositions. The United States proposes the principle of land for peace, and Shamir proposes the principle of peace for peace. But the observer would note that the reality of what is going on is neither in the manner of peace for peace nor in the manner of land for peace. What is happening in fact is that the Zionist entity would get the land and peace and participation in the regional arrangements. All this in exchange for what?

With regard to land, it is internationally recognized throughout the world that the land occupied in 1967 is Arab land, and that it is impermissible to acquire other people's land by force. It is also axiomatic, as far as the United States is concerned, that the Zionist entity would get a part of this land, under the title of boundary adjustments. Therefore, he [Shamir] would get the land, whether within the framework of minor adjustments, or in the framework of comprehensive annexation and non-withdrawal, as Shamir dreams. Therefore he, not the Arabs or the Palestinians, would get the land.

As for peace, Shamir not only endeavors to achieve a normal peace that would ensure him security; rather, he would like to deepen it by imposed normalization in all its manifestations.

In addition to land and peace, his participation in the regional arrangements has already been decided, and through this participation he would get privileges or economic, water, environmental gains, etc. Why then all these pauses ?

The answer is definite and clear: Shamir wants more of everything mentioned above, and he wants more at the expense of Arab rights. Not only this, what is happening, with all its complications, allows the United States to make its regional arrangements and to continue the process of imposing its increasing influence.

Amid the dust of this storm, talk of freezing the settlement process and the settlements as a necessary prerequisite comes to nothing. The talk about many of the details also comes to nothing, the maze becomes the maze of formalities, and the mere attendance of the Zionist entity becomes an achievement.

Palestinians 'Lured' to Talks

TA2901202392 Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic 26 Jan 92 pp 1, 11

[Editorial: "Our People Have the Right To Learn the Truth"]

[Text] From the time that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began his "shuttle" visits to the Middle East in the aftermath of the Gulf war and until the meeting at the negotiating table in Madrid between the Arabs and the Palestinians on one hand, and the Israelis on the other, two groups appeared on the Arab street or, more specifically, on the Palestinian street: The first one supported negotiations, settlement of the intractable Arab-Israeli conflict, and a solution to the Palestinian problem. The second one rejected that approach on the grounds that it is a waste of time and because the stronger Israeli side will impose its conditions on the other parties in the negotiations. The supporters argued that the rejectionists were not proposing any practical alternative, and they therefore became more insistent on participating in the peace conference. One of the Palestinian leaders who was in favor of the conference summed up the Palestinian position this way: We Palestinians are too weak to impose a solution, but we are powerful enough to foil any solution that is inconsistent with our interests.

The negotiations began in Madrid and the conference ended in an exaggerated climate of optimism. Upon returning to Gaza, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation, truthfully said that there was no room for rejoicing because nothing was achieved in Madrid. Then came the second round of the direct bilateral negotiations, in Washington. After arriving five days late for the conference, Israel embarked on procrastination and foot-dragging and confined the meetings with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the U.S. State Department corridors. It refused to sit at the negotiating table, except on its own terms. This phase ended without any agreement other than to meet again in the middle of this month. The meeting did take place, and the Palestinians put forward a self-rule plan for an interim period. The Israelis presented their own concept of self-rule, and the meetings broke up without making any progress.

The Palestinian delegation returned to the homeland. The rejectionist forces gathered to criticize and "rip

apart" the negotiating delegation, as if it were responsible for the deadlock in the negotiations! It is unfair and unjust to blame this group of Palestinians, which was tasked with speaking and negotiating on behalf of the Palestinian people, for the deadlock. It was chosen by the legitimate Palestinian leadership to propose a political solution advocated by that leadership. The Palestinian delegation succeeded, under the circumstances, to make its strong voice heard in all parts of the globe, explaining that there will be no peace in the region unless our national sovereignty is established, Israeli occupation terminated, settlement activity halted, and international legitimacy applied to the Palestinian territories.

We have no right to blame the Palestinian delegation, because it represents the moderate Palestinian line, which is the majority, but the Palestinian people have the right to learn the truth, no matter how bitter it may be. We have the right to be informed of the delegation's real views—sincerely and faithfully—as to whether matters are moving in a direction that will lead to the achievement of some Palestinian aspirations and hopes, or if there is cause for concern and an urgent need to reassess the calculations, review the positions, and evaluate and rectify the situation.

We went to the peace conference in Madrid and Washington as a result of American and Arab pressures. We believed that the United States would participate in the conference as its sponsor and out of concern to prevent its derailment or suspension due to Israeli intransigence. It became clear, however, that U.S. policy was to bring the parties to the negotiating table so that they could solve their problems alone. As Secretary Baker has affirmed, there is no U.S. assurance of positive results at the peace conference!

The questions often asked in the occupied territories are these: Were all the enticements to make us participate in the peace conference false? Were we just lured? Will our participation have no benefit at all for our cause and people? If the answers are yes, and if a U.S. solution is peddled under the current circumstances, instability will not only continue but the situation will become more explosive, like smoldering coals that could break into flames at any moment!

Jordan To Study PLO Request for TV Station

NC3001205492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0955 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Paris, 30 Jan (MENA)—Paris-based AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI magazine has cited Palestinian sources as saying that the PLO has submitted a request to appropriate Jordanian authorities to set up a Palestinian television station in Jordan beamed at the occupied territories.

In its Friday edition, the magazine says the Jordanians had some reservations about the Palestinian request and that they noted that in the event the station is approved, it must express the Palestinians' current moderate line and should not obstruct the peace process.

The magazine adds that the Jordanians promised to study the request after the Palestinian side asserted that the television station would be a step toward future confederal cooperation.

Algeria

Bomb Thrown at U.S. Embassy; No Casualties

LD3101112892 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Yesterday evening unknown persons hurled a homemade bomb at the U.S. Embassy in Algiers without any casualties resulting. This is the first incident of this kind involving a foreign embassy since Algeria gained its independence in 1962.

No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.

Further Reportage on Security Force Actions

Police Arrest Bab el-Oued Imam

NC3101160092 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Algiers, Jan 31 (AFP)—Police arrested a fundamentalist imam after Friday prayers outside el-Sunna Mosque in Algeria's Bab el-Oued district, witnesses said.

Police opened fire after the week's main prayers to disperse demonstrators near the mosque in the working-class district of Algiers, but it was not possible to confirm reports that people had been hurt.

The riot police, who had surrounded the mosque before the prayers, arrested Cheikh Yazid, preacher at the Bilal Mosque in the city's Notre Dame d'Afrique district.

They tried to arrest members of the el-Sunna Mosque commission, who are members of the Islamic Salvation Front that formerly ran the mosque, witnesses said.

The state took control of the mosque this week and appointed its own preacher.

Army commandos with fixed bayonets took up stations near the mosque during the clashes.

Clash in Bab el-Oued; Casualties Reported

NC3101155192 Paris AFP in English 1506 GMT 31 Jan 92

[By Hassan Zenati]

[Excerpts] Algiers, Jan 31 (AFP)—Riot police opened fire as Islamic militants hurled stones at them after Friday prayers around the el-Sunna Mosque in a fundamentalist stronghold of Algiers.

Witnesses said there had been casualties, but it was not immediately possible to obtain confirmation.

Automatic weapon fire was heard as commandos in camouflage gear, with fixed bayonets on their guns, took up stations around the mosque in the Bab el-Oued working-class district.

A gendarmerie helicopter flew overhead.

Riot police earlier fired warning shots to disperse small groups of people in sidestreets near the mosque, where an Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) imam had been replaced by a state appointee. [passage omitted]

Police also clashed with fundamentalist militants demonstrating in the eastern city of Constantine, where three FIS imams (preachers) were charged in court on Thursday.

Residents reached by phone said the air was "unbreathable" in central Constantine because of tear gas, but could not say if anybody had been hurt.

The showdown between the Islamic Front and Algerian authorities determined to keep it out of power claimed its first lives at a demonstration on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

The former imam of el-Sunna, considered the 'Mecca' of Algerian fundamentalists, Abdelkader Moghni, has been on the run since Friday. The mosque is one of two fundamentalist strongholds in the capital, but the government has banned political preaching in the mosques.

Moghni was elected deputy for the district before the military this month robbed the FIS of a big parliamentary majority by canceling the second round of Algeria's first multiparty general elections since independence in 1962.

Demonstrators in Constantine on Thursday chanted the names of the Islamic Front's charismatic leaders, Abassi Medani and Ali Belhadj, who were jailed in June on insurrection charges.

Inside the courthouse, three imams were accused of making political speeches and handing out leaflets considered an "incitement to disobedience in the Army".

The High State Council that seized power after the sudden resignation of President Chadli Bendjedid on January 11 has arrested some 500 FIS militants, according to the party.

FIS foreign relations spokesman Rabah Kebir was detained on Tuesday and sent the next day to the Serkadji Prison in Algiers.

Like Abdelkader Hachani, who became acting leader of the movement after Medani and Belhadj were put behind bars, Kebir has been charged with inciting insurrection.

In another incident, Algerian radio reported that a homemade bomb late Thursday blew up at the U.S. Embassy, but damage was very light and there were no casualties.

The State Council, nominally headed by independence war veteran Mohamed Boudiaf, has warned in an official statement that it was determined to have "the state and public order" respected.

The kingpin of the council is Defense Minister Khaled Nezzar, one of the country's top three Army officers, who according to informed sources forced Chadli to resign because the president had been preparing to sack them and do a power-sharing deal with the FIS.

Police Fire To Disperse Algiers Crowd

NC3101132492 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Algiers, Jan 31 (AFP)—Police fired into the air to disperse several dozen Muslims trying to go to a university mosque here for Friday prayers, an AFP reporter at the scene said.

The police prevented the people gathered outside the university from going into the premises and then fired warning shots to disperse the crowd.

Veiled women in the crowd responded by ululating at the soldiers.

Algiers Governor Bans Public Gatherings

LD3001221292 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The wali [governor] of Algiers has today, Thursday, issued a directive in which he stated that in order to carry out the cleaning operation in the region of Algiers Wilaya, and in order to protect the property of citizens and their comfort, a total ban has been imposed on any gatherings at places—squares, roads, walls, or billboards, etc.

The decision added that the administration reserves the right to immediately restore or to ask for the immediate restoration of matters to normal through all necessary ways and means. In conclusion, the decision warned that any violation of this decision, despite the need to restore places to their former condition and the payment of the costs that this would entail, will be dealt with legally.

The wali of Algiers issued another decision stipulating a ban on collecting donations without prior permits—and such a permit will be valid for one day only. The collection of donations will be banned inside mosques except for donations of a religious nature.

Police, Interior Ministry Statements on Order

LD3001201692 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Following the incidents witnessed yesterday by Badjarah municipality which led to the intervention of the police force to disperse the demonstrators, the Algiers security department issued a statement. Here it is:

The disturbances that were perpetrated by persons with suspicious intentions led to the dragging of unwitting teenagers into carrying out biased acts. Therefore, parents are called upon to shoulder their full responsibilities to avert the participation of their children in acts carried out by biased people.

The police are a state institution whose role is to guarantee security and calm for all, which means stability for the country.

The Interior Ministry also issued a statement in which it calls upon citizens, parents, the faithful, and the inhabitants of vicinities near mosques to carry out their prayers in the mosques in their quarters to avoid blocking public roads and to reject the conspiracies of troublemakers who seek to disturb public order.

The Interior Ministry statement recalls that the state is strictly exercising its prerogatives as a protector of public order no matter the day or place. It also recalls that Friday represents for the Algerian Muslim people a day of compassion, unity, and of gathering inside God's house, the mosque. In some places, however, the noble mission of the mosque has been distorted by some elements who choose to make it a place of mutual repulsion, slander, and murder aimed at causing sedition among Muslims.

According to the same statement, the peace- and fraternity loving citizens are increasingly expressing their rejection of these distortions aimed at the mosque. The statement adds that tolerance of this phenomenon has become impossible with the mosque in general and Friday in particular becoming synonymous with worry and fear.

Brahimi on Unrest, Arab Reaction, Maghreb Issues

LD3001163192 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 1030 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi by unidentified correspondents on the "Mirror" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] [Passage omitted] The question to begin this session is: In your capacity as a member of the Higher Security Council [as heard], what is your assessment of the domestic situation in the country after the latest measures taken in the wake of the resignation of Mr. Chadli Bendjedid?

[Brahimi] From a professional point of view, we look at the situation in Algeria in connection with its effects on Algeria's relations with the outside world. But, first, we look at the situation as citizens interested in what happens in our country. I believe that matters are moving toward clarity and calm, and that the brother officials have a strong desire to bring about a normalization, to rationalize the situation, to resume the democratic process, and to tackle peoples' problems. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Minister, what are the priorities you see on the domestic scene: the economic side, the resumption of the democratic process? What are the priorities?

[Brahimi] These topics are now the subject of the Higher State Council's attention. I believe that work is under way to lay down a project based on ensuring security for citizens, and second, the restoration of the prestige of the state. For I believe that we must admit that the state was a little absent, and that certain parties had begun to believe that they were qualified to fill the vacuum in the streets and in the way the state was discharging its duties. There is also, I believe, a noticeable desire to see the state restore its prestige, then tackle the problems of people. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, you have talked about restoring the prestige of the state. This leads us to ask the following question: Algeria is going through a particular situation and is facing numerous internal problems. This places challenges before you that are by no means insignificant. Can we, Mr. Minister, envision that Algeria will recover a place commensurate with its weight in an international environment characterized by conflicts and in a new world order which has as one of its goals the weakening of the Third World and naturally, because it is part of it, Algeria?

[Brahimi] I believe that Algeria was not absent from the international scene. On the contrary, it maintained its activity and interests throughout all these years. There is no doubt, however, that the state of strength or state of weakness which distinguishes any country affects the status of that state abroad. Therefore, we can say that in the past few years Algeria's role might have been affected by the domestic problems which Algeria was going through, particularly after 1988 [reference to wide-scale disturbances during which at least 150 people were killed]. Maybe there is a bit of selfishness and pride [in what I am going to say], for I am the son of the institution of the Algerian diplomatic effort since its creation, but allow me to say that Algerian diplomacy and Algeria's presence abroad were, I think, at a reasonable level from the early days of the revolution and throughout all the eras which Algeria has passed.

Moreover, I think that we have never forgotten that the diplomatic effort abroad is not a leisure or a hobby but rather is part of the efforts undertaken by the state to serve the national interest and domestic objectives, be they the individual objectives which distinguish Algeria or the objectives which we share with our brethren in the Arab Maghreb, the Arab world, the Nonaligned countries, Africa, and so on. Thus Algeria was present and is still present and will continue to be present and will mobilize its capabilities and actions to help attain national objectives and also pan-Arab objectives.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, you have talked about Algeria's presence on the international level and in international forums. Some analyses, particularly by the Algerian and foreign media, go as far as to say that Algeria's reputation has been greatly affected and that this has caused Algeria to be subjected to numerous criticisms and to a campaign, as we have seen, from Iran and France in particular. Mr. Minister, are the responses to these criticisms sufficient and adequate to halt these criticisms of Algeria?

[Brahimi] We must accept that the world has now become small and that communications have reduced distances between the people. The people in any part of the world can have access to full, wide-ranging, and accurate information. Therefore, when we have problems and when events are taking place here, it is natural that the world shows an interest and writes about them and comments about them. We can even say that because we are an important country, there is an interest in what is taking place here because what is happening here affects others. Others are interested in what is happening in our country. Consequently, the idea is that people cannot reject what is said or written about them abroad. This is impossible because it is natural and necessary that in the world in which we live there is an interest and that there are comments.

There is a clear-cut distinction between a legitimate interest, the expected comment, and the criticism with which we must put up and accept. We also criticize what takes place in many countries. We criticize many stands taken by prominent figures and states. Therefore, we must accept criticism. But the dividing line is between the report, which is natural, the comment, which is expected, and the criticism, with which we have to be patient and which we must accept, and on the other hand the attacks, slander, and interference. We protest this and we reject these things.

We reject interference, we reject attacks, we reject propaganda and tendentious news and talk. The brothers in Iran allowed themselves to state things that, by any standard, one cannot consider to be either news, comment, or even a legitimate criticism. It is propaganda and interference into our affairs, and we object to this.

The same thing applies to France despite the fact that in France's case we share some complex issues such as historical relations and the political sensitivities known to us all.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, we are talking about Iran's interference in Algeria. Iran was more concerned than anyone else with events taking place in Algeria. Does such a concern stem from a particular strategy, as some analyses have been suggesting?

[Brahimi] One should be careful to avoid making the same mistakes about which we have ourselves been protesting to Iran. Therefore, we do not want to slander Iran, nor do we want to cast doubts about its intentions. We would like to say here that there are a great number of officials and press organs which have been talking about the situation in Algeria not for the sake of making statements or criticizing what has been taking place but in order to prompt the events to take a certain line—for

instance, when they say in Iran that a civil war must take place in Algeria. Do they have an interest in this happening? God knows. However, regardless of whether or not they have an interest in this matter, we cannot accept their inciting our people to fight one other.

When they assert that Algeria should have a particular regime, one probably like their own, we say to them: Leave Algerians alone; let them decide where their interest lie and what is the best regime for them. You can talk about problems in Algeria. However, as for how Algerians should resolve such problems, you should allow them to deal with these because they are the best equipped to do so. However, they might have a plan, aims, and ambitions; but we prefer not to use the same methods about which we have been complaining and rejecting.

[Correspondent] Sir, you have just been talking about the need for compassion and accepting some criticism as a diplomat who knows very well how to handle the situation. How should we deal with criticism, however, which is made by countries which themselves do not believe in human rights, criticism which is meant to focus on human rights abuses in Algeria?

[Brahimi] Well, I think that the press and other information organs in our country have the right when hearing about such comments, reports, and allegations to point out such facts, i.e. that how could someone talk untruthfully about human rights in Algeria, which is not acceptable anyway, and shed crocodile tears about human rights in Algeria or elsewhere while we are all aware how such a regime has dealt with its own citizens. There is no doubt that it is legitimate to remind some people of those facts. [Our] information organs should carry out such a task.

On this occasion, (?and this is a reality), however, the most important thing that must be said is not that Iran does not respect human rights in its country. And this is perhaps true, the thing which is more important than that is that attention must be drawn to what is said about human rights in Algeria. (I believe?), and everybody knows, that now there is and for a long time there has been a very great effort for the absolute respect of human rights, and nobody is arrested without reference to the law, and when a person is arrested, his dignity is respected, the law is implemented, and the law and the legal measures are respected fully. This is perhaps the most important thing to which attention must be drawn. In Algeria, there is no torture and no repressive and mass arrests, and no persecution of man or woman because he is a man or she is a woman or is small or tall or right wing or left wing. All this does not happen, and I believe that there are hundreds of foreign journalists present here, and I have not seen anybody writing from here that there is a systematic—meaning mass—violation of human rights in Algeria.

[Correspondent] Your Excellency the Minister, we now move from our internal situation to the Arab situation and common Arab preoccupations. Your Excellency the Minister, with regard to Algeria's stand toward the Moscow peace talks, Algeria, as is known, did not participate in them because of its linking its position to the Palestinian one and its disappointment resulting from the lack of progress in the peace negotiations. Your Excellency the Minister, was Algeria unable to convince our neighbors in the Arab Maghreb and in the framework of the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU] to coordinate a unified stand toward the peace conference?

[Brahimi] It is no secret—I think that right from the first day, from the day the U.S. secretary of state came to us, if I remember, on 4 August—that we have been calling almost daily for the need to coordinate stands, first between the Palestinians and us, and this is continuing. There are continuous meetings and contacts between the Palestinians and us at all levels, not only with President Yasir 'Arafat and his colleagues in the [PLO] Executive Committee, but also with a number of Palestinian officials and intellectuals in the Arab world and outside it, including some brothers whom we can contact in the occupied territories themselves. There are contacts and coordination [between us], and we are continually getting acquainted with their views.

We have called frequently and repeatedly for coordination at the Arab Maghreb and Arab world levels. Today this is perhaps the first time that I have said this to the media: I said to important officials in the Arab world: It is a disgrace that you are going to a conference at which you are going to meet the Israelis, but you refuse to meet as Arabs before you meet the Israelis. Is it possible that the Arab official arrives at a conference, either in Madrid or Moscow, and meets at the door the Israeli just like he meets his Arab brother? Is it not necessary that as Arabs they should meet many times before they meet the Israelis? We have repeated these statements in these words to many officials from the Arab Maghreb and outside it.

At the level of the Arab Maghreb, many meetings were held, and there was coordination between us and we decided to go to Madrid. We went as a single body and we were represented by AMU Secretary General Mohamed Amamou. This was perhaps the first action that he undertook after being appointed secretary general. Afterward, the invitation was not sent to the Arab Maghreb states as a whole but rather to the states of the Arab Maghreb separately [Libya was not invited]. At this stage there were contacts and consultations, but in the end our interpretations were somewhat different. The differences were not great but there were some differences. This is in fact a historical issue. We in Algeria are perhaps the people the most attached to the principle that the Palestinian people are like the rest of the Arab peoples and that they have the freedom of decision and that consequently the Arabs and the Algerians in particular must support, accept, and respect this Palestinian decision. Whatever the pressures on us, either to outbid the Palestinians just for the sake of it—and there are pressures put on us by some Arab brethren who say that

this decision by the Palestinians represents a retreat, is inconsistent, and is not revolutionary. [sentence as heard] This is the type of pressure which we get and which lean toward extremism and are aimed at outbidding the Palestinians. We reject such pressures.

There are pressures which come from other quarters, Arab and non-Arab, and which say something like: "You and the Palestinians, why do link your fate with that of the Palestinians? The Palestinians take extremist positions." We also reject such pressure, and we say that we support the Palestinians, just as we demanded during the [Algerian] revolution that our brethren and friends respect our decision as that of Algeria and to support our decision as that of Algeria.

Therefore, when we got to the third stage, that is the Moscow meeting, we were first of all very reluctant because we felt a big disappointment, just like the rest of the Arabs and the Palestinians, for no results were achieved in the second stage of the negotiations, meaning the bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and Jordanians on the one hand and the Palestinians and Syrians and the Palestinians and the Lebanese [as heard]. Furthermore, Israel's obstinate stand, its behavior and practices in the occupied territories—the deportation of Palestinians and the building of new settlements in the occupied territories—and the new Israeli budget earmarked huge funds for the building of new settlements in the occupied territories, all these things are unacceptable to us. We have told the Americans, the Russians, and the Europeans this and these stands more than once.

Our reluctance was also due to the fact that we did not want to outbid the Palestinians. We did not say that we are not going to attend although we were leaning toward not attending. But to prevent people from saying that we outbid the Palestinians, we first let the Palestinians decide, and when they did this we followed them.

[Correspondent] I do not know whether we have enough time to ask another question.

[Unidentified person] We have three minutes.

[Correspondent] Therefore, Mr. Minister, the Palestinians participated in the Madrid conference with a joint delegation. Now we have a Palestinian proposal regarding the reforming of this delegation so that it will include Palestinians who live inside [the occupied territories] and outside. In your opinion, why has the attitude of the Palestinians changed concerning the formula of participation?

[Brahimi] No, it is not the Palestinian stand that has changed. The Palestinians right from the very beginning insisted that they should have an independent delegation. Second, if they did not have an independent or nonindependent delegation, they insisted on having people from the inside and outside represented in the delegation. Aa far as the Palestinians are concerned, the question of outside is not a secondary issue because a large part of the Palestinian people are living in the diaspora. Then you have the question of Jerusalem—East Jerusalem, Arab Jerusalem, which Israel regards as being part of it and thus refuses to accept its representation in the Palestinian delegation, while the Palestinians say that the Arabs who are in Jerusalem are under occupation and should be represented. This was the Palestinian demand right from the very beginning. The Palestinians accepted conceding this demand at the Madrid conference. But they continue to demand that their delegation should be independent.

Therefore, problems occurred at the Washington conference with regard to the negotiations, and ultimately they negotiated as a Palestinian group with the Israelis according to specific measures—which we have no time to dwell on now—and then in Moscow they went back once again and said all right, among the questions listed for discussion is the question of refugees. Can anyone imagine that on the question of refugees people from the West Bank are allowed to speak without there being anyone representing the Palestinian refugees? They [the Palestinians] had obtained a semipromise from the Americans and the Russians that at this stage when not only the countries of the region would be present but—I mean 40 states, Japan, China, etc.—it was said that perhaps the outside would be represented. That is why the Palestinians insisted. As a matter of fact, both the Americans and Russians tried. But Israel was once again intransigent, and therefore the Palestinians insisted on their stand and refused to be present if the presence of the Palestinians living outside and those living in Jerusalem was not accepted. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Sir, before we continue our discussion on the Middle East peace talks, I would like to read you a news item that we received a short while ago: AFP reported today, quoting the French Embassy in Algiers, that the French Government has decided that the visa needed by Algerian citizens wishing to travel to France will be granted for a fee as from next Monday. What is your comment on this decision?

[Brahimi] In reality we knew ahead of time about this decision; the French authorities told us about it some time ago. It has been a topic of discussion between us. It is in fact a decision that also affects the other Arab Maghreb countries—Tunisia, Algeria [as heard], and Mauritania. As far as we are concerned—and I spoke about this this morning with brother Chairman Mohamed Boudiaf—our policy in such a situation is always to reciprocate. When they introduced the visa we reciprocated. Now they want to charge a fee, and we will be charging French citizens who want to visit Algeria a fee.

[Correspondent] Has this decision, Minister, anything to do with the internal situation in Algeria or with the economic situation in particular?

[Brahimi] No, not at all. This was, first, a decision not only affecting Algeria but also the Maghreban countries.

The official correspondence we received from them asserted that European countries are now entering a new era in which anyone entering a European country may travel freely to other European countries. Thus, anyone wishing to travel to Belgium can do so if he obtains a visa for France. The French have been saying: We are the only European country which has been granting visas without a fee. So those people who want to travel to Italy, Britain, or elsewhere in Europe might seek to obtain a French visa, and we will then be inundated with requests for visas. We will be then granting visas not only to those wishing to travel to France but also to those who might wish to travel to anyone of the 12 EC countries. Therefore, in order to unify the procedures, because other EC countries do, in fact, charge a visa fee, the French will be applying the same measures as the other EC countries.

[Correspondent] Let us continue. I have a question perhaps related to the role of the UN Security Council. In view of the events in the Gulf and the war against Iraq, is there still any hope of bringing Arab affairs before the Security Council, especially following the appointment of Mr. Butrus Ghali as UN secretary general?

[Brahimi] I do not understand what you mean by the word especially. Butrus Ghali is a kind and informed man.

[Correspondent] I mean an Arab presence, Arab presence.

[Brahimi] You mean a gain. This is surely a gain for the Arabs. There is cause for great anxiety, not only regarding the Gulf issue, but now regarding the issue of Libya. We are beginning to hear continuous talk, as repeated by President Bush during his recent State of the Union address, about the new world order. This new world order is being talked about by strong countries without any prior consultations with the majority of countries and mankind. What is this order? What is the UN Security Council's role within this order? This is the really baffling question; it is at the center of discussions and questions. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Minister, earlier you mentioned the weakness of the Arab world and the split within it. I believe that these matters facilitated interference in the affairs of the Arab world. Libya is the target of U.S.-British-French threats. There are those who confirm the probability that Libya will be a target for what Western circles describe as disciplinary measures. Likewise, analysts talk about a scenario of aggression against Libya similar to the one that was carried out against Iraq. Minister, what were the actions of Algeria and the Arab world regarding this issue?

[Brahimi] To be accurate and not unfair to anyone on the existing problem or the issue to be settled—intentions are a completely different matter, as God knows—the issue for discussion is the fact that the two planes were downed. This is a reality; the Pan Am airliner crashed in Lockerbie, and another French plane, in which one Algerian citizen was killed, also crashed. He was a young person who was employed by the presidency, I believe. He was killed following the crash of the French airliner over Africa, in the desert, south of the Algerian Sahara. These are facts. There is a lengthy investigation into the two matters. Today the Americans, the British, and the French say: We have obtained preliminary results concerning this investigation, and there are definite accusations leveled against certain persons. Libyan names were mentioned in this matter. This is the issue to be settled.

During circumstances in which accusations are easily made, we always seek to remind people that we condemn such acts. These acts against the planes were really abhorrent deeds, for about 400 victims representing approximately 20 to 30 nationalities were killed for nothing, and we denounce this. Anyone whose involvement in such acts is proven should be tried and should be held accountable. We always emphasize this point. [passage omitted]

As we told the Americans, the British, and the French, we emphasize that this legal side should be dealt with according to the provisions of international law, and not according to the orders issued by the United States, Britain, and France just because they are strong countries. There is a legal matter which should be studied.

They went to the UN Security Council and stated that during this phase they call on Libya to cooperate in this investigation. For its part, Libya says that it is cooperating, while they say no, Libya is not cooperating but rather is fabricating evidence. They indicated that they would like to go back to the Security Council to get an agreement on sanctions against Libya.

We go back to the issue of this new world order and we see that, as a result of power and pressure, the latest resolutions were unanimously endorsed; all Security Council members voted for this resolution. We do not know what the Security Council position will be next time. However, we contacted all parties—chiefly, of course, the United States, Britain, and France, the three states calling for these measures—and we also contacted other Security Council member states to tell them that we accept the need to pursue the investigation and find the truth. We also demand, however, respect for the law and the nonimposition of the opinion of the strong on the weak.

[Correspondent] We have more time, Minister, and we remain with the Libyan issue.

[Brahimi] Yes.

[Correspondent] Libya insists on the legal side of the issue, and it is showing a willingness to deal with the judicial investigation. Is this convincing and proof that the threats and accusations now made against Libya are unjustified?

[Brahimi] With great regret, so far, there is—what is the term for it—a dialogue of the deaf between Libya and

these three countries. Libyans say: We are prepared to hold a dialogue, to cooperate, to contribute to the investigation, and the other states say: No, that is not true. They have come out with evidence that has nothing to do with the subject, saying that the Libyans are refusing to cooperate, and they are asked to hand over these men to the courts in Britain or in America and France.

[Correspondent] Is this acceptable diplomatically?

[Brahimi] What we have proposed, and in fact I have said this to all the parties, to the Libyan brothers and... [changes thought] We told them: Let us not renew the Gulf tragedy. When the Iraqis entered Kuwait, everyone was rushing about: the secretary general of the Arab League, Yasir 'Arafat, this one or that one, King Husayn of Jordan; everyone was rushing about. But it was disorganized, and the mediation efforts were not organized. Then the problem blew up in our face, and Iraq occupied Kuwait. After the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, we did the same thing: People started rushing about, going this way and that. The effort was not organized until a vicious war broke out in our face that led to what it led to.

We told them: Organize contacts through one channel; choose any channel, the Arab League, the secretary general of the Arab League—who is indeed a friendly party to the Libyans, but he is also well known to the English, the Americans, the French. Look for another party as mediator. They asked, and said: Well, we are prepared, but in the end, the English and the Americans, basically the English and the Americans [word indistinct] and said: No, we have an investigation under way; there are laws, and the Libyans must cooperate and respond to our demands. They did not accept our proposals.

[Correspondent] What is acceptable diplomatically?

[Brahimi] In the end, diplomacy is the art of the possible. There is speculation which everyone is trying to make according to their interests. To sum it up, this is a grave issue, a very grave issue which also could well blow up in our faces, with sanctions taken against Libya. Naturally we reject them, and we try to stand in their way. But they would cause problems for us, and problems for all. Here, possibly, I would like to take this opportunity to say something.

God forgive the brother Libyans. Very often... [changes thought] In particular, I have seen statements made by brother Jallud here in Algeria. He says that they want to arm people to engage in jihad. How did he put it—we are launching jihad from Libya. This language is irresponsible. Who is the threat directed against? At their brothers and neighbors. No one believes this talk. The only result is that it will be used against Libya; it will be said that they use irresponsible language. This is inadmissible.

It is the right of the Libyans that we help and support them and be in solidarity with them, but the Libyans owe it to Libya to behave in a responsible manner.

[Correspondent] Minister, is it possible that Algeria will be led into being a party to this issue?

[Brahimi] Not that Algeria will be led, no, but no doubt, if sanctions are imposed against Libya, economic sanctions, then we would reject them, combat them. This, however, could impose burdens and difficulties on us. No doubt, if there is a Security Council resolution on sanctions, it will cause us problems. In this sense, yes, we could be led into being a party to the problem; otherwise, no.

[Correspondent] Minister, prior to the Libyan affair, Algeria was subjected to an extensive media campaign concerning its nuclear reactor. What is your comment on this?

[Brahimi] First of all, I must tell you that in this story of the new world order there are extremely worrisome things, and one of them is that there is a tendency by the big countries to put the small countries under strict control in terms of science and technology, because the manufacture of soap could lead to the manufacture of chemicals. The manufacture, for instance, of medicine could lead to the manufacture of biological weapons. The use of nuclear energy in hospitals, agriculture, and desalination plants, and for other peaceful purposes could also lead to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Does this mean that the small country should be prevented from acquiring these sciences, this knowledge, and this expertise in these fields? This is a big question and one which in fact was raised through the absurd reports and articles written and published about Algeria's nuclear program.

In a nutshell, there are two things. The first concerns the Ain Oussera reactor. It has been said that this reactor is first of all in operation and that it is much bigger than the Algerians have said. To cut a long story short, representatives from the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna came to Algeria twice and saw that first of all this reactor was not operational and second that it was the exact size that Algeria had said it was. They also saw that this reactor is not suitable for producing nuclear weapons but rather only for scientific purposes.

There is another issue: This has come from the English; the story says that we have received nuclear materials from Iraq. On this point we summoned the British ambassador and told him that it is understandable to doubt our intentions, but if it is said that our intention is to produce a nuclear bomb, well, what can we do? There is nothing we can do. But when you say—and these are material and concrete matters—that 10 tonnes [as heard] of uranium left Iraq by car and reached Jordan and that from Jordan it was loaded on planes and brought to Algeria, these are concrete things, is it not true? The British ambassador said: No, we do not possess any information, but there were reports in the newspapers. I

told him: You must deny these reports and come and see that there is absolutely no basis of truth in these reports, not even remotely.

I believe that this issue is now clear. There are two aspects. One relates to this nonsense concerning the nuclear materials which we are supposed to have brought from Iraq— not true at all. The second is that the reactor in Ain Oussera is a reactor for scientific and peaceful purposes and it is completely as we agreed upon; we signed an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna which said: Please come and see it, inspect it, and see that there is no problem.

What remains, as I said, is a very important story: Some of the major powers, as one of the brothers said, wanted to disarm those who have no arms, and not the one who has arms. Also, they want small countries to be placed under control and excluded from taking part in this scientific upsurge. This is something we cannot accept.

[Correspondent] Minister, the West approached the issue of Algier's nuclear reactor in a special way. There was talk about an Islamic nuclear bomb. What are the interpretations that can be made of such media statements—trying to link Algerian industry to specific political directions?

[Brahimi] You must understand that I cannot accept assertions of this kind. I have never heard talk about a Christian bomb, Jewish bomb, or a Hindu bomb—India also has one—or Confucian in relation to the Chinese bomb. I do not know why they talk about an Islamic bomb. All right—if Algeria intended to make one or if it had made one it might be called an Algerian bomb. If Iran had one it might be called an Iranian bomb. And Pakistan. This sort of talk is absurd and in fact is rejected—the talk about a religious bomb.

We also talk about religion out of context, and so do our enemies; the other sides also talk out of context. Therefore, this sort of talk is rejected as a matter of principle. However, one would say that if there were some irresponsible regimes that possess nuclear weapons, this is something that poses a threat and a danger. One can debate this sort of thing: What is a responsible regime and what is an irresponsible regime, and when can one deal with the question of weapons and disarmament? We are fully prepared to talk about the question of the control of weapons, whether mass-destruction or conventional weapons, but in the context of interests and with a sensible balance. It is not possible for you to come and say that the Arab states are not allowed to have weapons of mass destruction when you do not say anything about the weapons that Israel has. This is not right. You must talk about everyone or you should not talk at all.

[Correspondent] Minister, Algerian diplomacy has been working to solve conflicts along our border. We have learned about the results of Algerian diplomacy concerning mediation in the conflict between the Azawad movement and the Malian Government. What happened to the UN plan for solving the Sahraoui issue?

[Brahimi] First the issue of the Touaregs. As for the Touaregs and Mali, we thank God, we have made a modest step. Efforts will continue, God willing. If goodwill continues on both sides, we will reach a result, God willing. As for the Western Sahara, this matter has actually been with us for 15 years. I think that there is a genuine will on our part to give any kind of assistance and to contribute to helping our brothers solve this question. This will be in our interest and in the interest of the Arab Maghreb Union.

There is the UN plan. It was agreed upon by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro [Polisario] and the Moroccan Government. The plan has stumbled a little. We are in contact with the brothers in Morocco, the Polisario, and also the new UN secretary general to try and give a new impetus to this plan so that the desired result can be attained—namely, a solution to this problem in a way satisfactory to the two sides and satisfactory to all.

[Correspondent] Is the Saharan problem an issue which affects and hinders the process of building the Arab Maghreb?

[Brahimi] There is no doubt whatsoever. It does contribute to the creation of problems, tensions, and difficulties in the march of the Arab Maghreb. For instance, Mauritania is affected and could be easily affected by any tension in the Saharan problem. Frankly, we have not so far even been able to draw a map of the Arab Maghreb. Our brothers in Morocco have been saying that the Sahara is theirs and that therefore any map must show Western Sahara as part of Morocco, whereas other parties do not recognize such a situation. Therefore, we are not able to draw a map of the region. How can anyone build a region like ours, build roads and railways, and engage in trade and joint ventures if he is not even able to draw a map of the region? Of course, this matter has been a big obstacle.

[Correspondent] How are the efforts to build the Arab Maghreb proceeding following recent events, particularly the events in Algeria and the elections in Mauritania?

[Brahimi] Look, we have been very careful, and we have been successful in doing so, in preventing anybody from making excuses that the situation in Algeria was responsible for hindering the march. There is no meeting to which we have been invited and have declined to attend for any reason. This includes the summit. Never. The summit was postponed; it should have been held in Mauritania, but it was postponed because of the elections there. As far as we are concerned there has not been a single meeting or any other forum that we have missed.

Here we would like our listeners to be aware that there were parties which wished to postpone the meeting on the Touareg problem scheduled to take place on 22

January. Why? President Chadli resigned, but the country is still going strong and working all right. No one can deny that. The agreement reached on 23 December stipulated that the meeting should take place on 22 January—22 and not 23 January. It was also agreed that it should take place in Algeria, and it did take place in Algiers. The meeting took place. It was successful in achieving the sought-after goals. A cease-fire agreement opening the door wide for a solution between the brothers in Mali was agreed upon.

Once more, as far as the Arab Maghreb is concerned, no one can make excuses that events in Algeria and Algeria's development have stopped the Maghreban march. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Still within the context of the Arab Maghreb, as for the little upset that has occurred in Algerian-Tunisian relations, has this issue finally been settled?

[Brahimi] By God, as far as we are concerned, there has been no problem. Here also one should stay a little cool. The Tunisian brothers were afraid and a little nervous because of the conditions that prevailed in their country, the threats they say were directed against their regime; they thought that some of those problems came to them from Algeria. We assured them from the start that Algerian territory would not in any circumstances be used to harm a neighboring state. I believe that they have become certain of this, and I now believe that conditions are normal as far as our mutual relations are concerned.

[Correspondent] Your Excellency, within the context of the new world order and the fate of regional blocs, my question concerns the Arab League. You yourself, Minister, worked in this Arab institution for a long time. The Arab League has now become an ineffective structure, so what alternative is there at the Arab and regional levels?

[Brahimi] This is a long story, in fact. The Arab League from the start suffered from confusion over its responsibility. They say that it is a pan-Arab organization that seeks unity and consequently abolishes regimes, states, and borders, and at the same time it is a regional organization for the protection of independence and borders. Thus it fell between two goals. It is a pan-Arab organization because it was desired that it should be a pan-Arab organization and a regional organization at the same time. Thus it has not been either a pan-Arab organization in the full sense of the word, nor a regional organization in the full sense of the word. Moreover, it is influenced directly and immediately by relations at the bilateral level among Arab countries, especially among its major members. I would compare it to your program—a mirror that reflects a collective picture of the Arab family. It is a photograph. A clever photographer can improve the picture a little; an inexperienced photographer can distort it a little, but he cannot change it. Thus the Arab League mirrors the Arab family. The Arab family now suffers from many fissures, especially due to the Gulf war disaster. A big earthquake has hit the Arab world, and its effects are still being felt in relations among Arab states. As a result, the ability of the Arab League to do the little that it used to do is impeded.

[Correspondent] Your Excellency, are there no proposals to refashion the Arab League?

[Brahimi] They sent us a message saying that they are now talking about changing certain articles in the Charter. Our reaction was: Brother, what is the hurry? Let people talk to each other, agree to talk to one another, agree to sit down with one another, and then let us talk about the Charter. There are also people who say that there is no longer a need for the Arab League, as a regional organization. There is the Gulf Cooperation Ccouncil, there is the Arab Maghreb Union, there is the group of eight—the Gulf states plus Egypt and Syria—and in a little while Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine will organize, and Yemen will join this or that group, so there is no need for the Arab League. No, I believe that there is a thing called the Arab homeland. There is a thing called Arab culture, there is a thing called common Arab interest. I believe that the Arab League has a role no matter how humble.

The thing that no longer exists, and it is possible that many of the Arab brothers who are listening to us will not like this, is Arab unity, as a project.

[Correspondent] Not even as a hope?

[Brahimi] As a hope—well, all right. It is not forbidden to hope, but one would be fooling oneself to say that there is a project for Arab unity, or that anyone today—the Ba'th Party, the remnants of Nasirism, or any other pan-Arab party—has submitted any serious project for Arab unity toward which work is being done. We, for instance, with the issue of the Arab Maghreb. [sentence as heard] There are brothers who used to say that we should forget about the issue of the Arab Maghreb; there is a need for immediate Arab unity. Now most admit that Arab unity as a project existing today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, and the forseeable future no longer exists. Those who hope for Arab unity, and I believe that we are among them, should accept this fact, admit the existence of this fact, and not resign themselves to it, if they wish to work to build a new project and make a new start on a new pan-Arab project.

[Correspondent] Finally, in relation perhaps to the Nonaligned project— a Nonaligned meeting is expected to take place at the beginning of next month. What are the basic issues to be submitted to this meeting? Is nonalignment still a viable project as such? Does it need another visualization after the meeting of the 15 [as heard] in Caracas? What are the prospects for nonalignment?

[Brahimi] First, I admit that there is a sentimental link with this project—that is, from the days of Indonesia and the first meeting that Algeria attended before independence, in Belgrade in September 1961. As far as our generation is concerned, there is a sentimental link with this movement, what it achieved for us, and what it

represented for us. It was indeed a very good framework for action. This does not prevent us, however, from admitting that we are in a predicament, and that this movement suffers in the way that the Third World suffers in general: the picture's lack of clarity and existing disappointment in relation to what we used to aspire to.

The idea of the new order about which they now talk was submitted in a context of nonalignment, here in Algeria, in 1973. Certainly the new order we used to talk about was different from the new order we now have. Well, here we must admit things and call ourselves to account; there is no doubt that if we suffered defeats and losses we are responsible, at least partially, for what has befallen us. Now, whatever is on the agenda at the meeting you talked about, God willing, on Tuesday, and more important than that, the upcoming meeting in Jakarta in September, there is no doubt that we must face these questions: Is there a place for nonalignment, and what is the aim that can be associated with this movement? There are those who say that this movement should merge with the Group of 77 and its tasks subsequently remain economic. Others say no, there are states which believe in the Nonaligned Movement in its libertarian aspect, and it should shrink in size—that is, some of the states should leave it, leaving in it only those countries which are sound. [laughs]

[Correspondent] Where does Algeria stand on this?

[Brahimi] I told you, we were among the first members, from 1961. There are those who say that China has now asked to join the movement as an observer, I believe. Thus there are important questions. The gist of the matter is that we belong to all these groups: the Arab Maghreb—we did not talk about the Mediterranean, we did not talk about our relations with Europe, we did not talk about the Five Plus Five [five Arab Maghreb Union members and five Mediterranean EC countries], which held an important meeting here and which now suffer from the problems related to the situation in Libya. These are the groups to which we belong. There is the Organization of African Unity, also about which we have said nothing.

All these parties, these frameworks in which we move, are to us a base and a source of strength, and they also expect a contribution from us. How do we interact? How do we give to these groupings and how we take from them? All this is linked to what happens in Algeria: how we view ourselves, and how we want people to see us. How do we want people to see us? This depends primarily on how we behave, how we deal with each other at home, before we examine the way that we behave with others, and first with each other. We are the country of the Algerian revolution, the country of the long march, which has accomplished much, and we have made many mistakes. Today, in fact, we face a new journey and the handing over of the message to a new generation. Our hope is that we will not fail in this mission. [passage omitted]

Criticizes Foreign 'Intervention'

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[Text] Algeria (A.A) [Ankara ANATOLIA]—Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi has said that Iran had intervened in their internal affairs.

In an exclusive interview, Brahimi told AA that they will not allow the violation of laws and that his country "had committed great political and economic errors in the past."

Brahimi said that they were willing to further economic and trade relations with Turkey.

Answering AA's questions, Brahimi said that they were not disturbed by the attention paid to their country after the taking of the power of the High State Committee [as received] with the support of the Army following the election success of the extreme religious Islamic Salvation Front.

"Now the world has become smaller and others are willing to learn the things going on in my country," he said, adding that they accepted comments and criticisms directed to them.

"However, we reject the intervention in our internal affairs and assaults," he said.

Answering a question about claims that Iran was intervening in their internal affairs, Brahimi said, "Yes, Iran has intervened. The statement of the Iranian president, his assistant, parliament members and religious officials give advices to us on how to do things.

"Some of these even said that they will ask from the international community to protest us."

He went on to say that his country had extended great help to Iran since the Islamic revolution and "this should not be the response of Iran."

Brahimi said that they were not planning to ban the Islamic Salvation Front and aimed to establish a pluralist society.

However, he added, they expected all political parties to adhere to the laws.

Brahimi said that he did not expect the elections in his country to be held before the end of 1993.

He went on to say that they were greatly interested in the economic developments of Turkey.

Recalling that he had invited Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin to Algeria when they met at the summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Brahimi said that they were willing to further ties with Turkey.

Denies Foreign States Influencing Events

LD3001211392 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in French 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] No one can ignore the fact that the situation in Algeria is being closely followed by our close neighbors, of course, as is evident, but also by big powers such as France and the United States. Could these powers have any influence on the course of events under way in our country? Farida Bekkouche put this question to Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi during the "Hot Spot" program broadcast every Thursday at lunchtime. I invite you to listen once again to Mr. Brahimi's answer:

[Begin recording] [Brahimi] To be precise, and in order not to be accused of employing the language of propaganda, you have the Americans and the French, big powers who have vested interests in the region. They have a presence and they follow what is going on here at home. I can tell you that I would be very surprised if they could influence events here at home. I can assure you that there is vigilance at all levels to ensure that our decisions are national and that the interests of our people are taken into account and determine our actions.

[Bekkouche] But could their attitude not influence the Algerian economy? There is talk about economic recovery as a priority, there is talk about loans, of course; it is said that U.S. banks or even those of the EC would hesitate and prefer to wait and see before agreeing on the second installment of loans.

[Brahimi] Let's talk about this U.S. bank. As for this U.S. bank, a very negligible sum is involved. I think it is something like $20 or $25 million out of $1.5 billion...

[Bekkouche, interrupting] But couldn't this have a domino effect on the others?

[Brahimi] No, one should put things in perspective. When you ask someone for money, you should expect them to think about their money. You expect this; you cannot think of it as charity or as being given to you because you are polite or a good person. You have to appraise your interests. I think that today's Algeria is continuing its tradition, its old tradition of strong patriotism which, if you like, leads or governs our behavior. We need money, we are asking for loans, we are asking international institutions and countries with which we have relations for financial facilities. We understand that there are economic conditions, but everyone knows that political conditions are out of the question. [end recording]

Hamrouche, Mohamedi Appear Before Court

LD2901174992 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] The military prosecutor in Blida has said that former Prime Minister Mr. Hamrouche and his minister of interior, Mohamed Salah Mohamedi, appeared today before the investigating magistrate of the Blida military court within the context of the investigation being carried out into the case of Abassi Madani and his comrades.

During this session Mr. Hamrouche and Mr. Mohammedi were brought face to face with the detained Islamic Salvation Front leaders in order to put an end to the procrastination and obstacles which have until now hindered the investigation into this case, as was reported by the military prosecution.

National Salvation Front Elects New Leader

LD3101062992 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 0600 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The National Salvation Front yesterday evening held an extraordinary conference at the Aourasi Hotel in the absence of Abderrahmane Adjerid, who boycotted the conference.

(?Bendrid) Brahim was elected the new leader of the National Salvation Front in Adjerid's place, and the one-day conference decided to set up a national committee to investigate the party's finances.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Discusses Western 'Threats,' Algeria

LD3001182792 Algiers APS in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Algiers, 30 Jan (APS)—Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, gave an interview published in today's issue of the EL-SALAM newspaper in which he particularly clarifies his position regarding the U.S.-Western threats, the general situation in the Arab world, and the Islamic tendency.

As for the U.S.-Western threats against his country, Col. al-Qadhdhafi states: "Basically speaking, the campaign aims at (?entrenching) 'Israel' in the Arab region. I believe that any folly against the Jamahiriyah will have unforeseen consequences. The accusations are gross lies that are rejected by all logic; there is no proof of these charges. We are victims of terrorism; we are not its instigators. Consequently, accusations leveled against us are groundless. The accusations are a pretext to attack the Jamahiriyah. If anything happens, Libya reserves the right to defend itself in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter."

In reply to a question on the current situation in the Arab world, which is characterized by frustration and despair, Col. al-Qadhdhafi remarked: "The conditions you have mentioned have been stated by them [not further specified]. How can I be optimistic while the United States announces in all frankness that it does not agree with the establishment of a Palestinian state? Also, let me put it in pure Arabic terms: Israel refuses to let the Palestinians have an independent state. The fact that it does not agree on this is a clear message—that is, there is no scope for

optimism any more. The United States took advantage of Arab fragmentation and exploited it in order to supervise the peace process in the Middle East according to the U.S. vision and what is termed the new world order. Libya's nonparticipation in this farce prompted the United States to think about dealing a military blow against the Jamahiriyah."

As for the situation in Algeria following the resignation of Chadli Bendjedid and the halting of the first round of legislative elections, the leader of the Libyan revolution said: "I am following the situation in Algeria with great interest and deep concern because it is my second country. Also, Algeria represents the strategic depth for Libya and a buffer against all shocks. This has been the case throughout history, when peace used to spread from Egypt through Libya to Tunisia and Algeria.

"I feel a spiritual tie with Algeria; I was imprisoned because of it. Consequently, its people and land occupy a prominent place. It is an epic of which we are proud, and it gave ample sacrifices. I am proud to state that whenever I visit Algeria, and when saluting while the national anthem is being played by the Republican Guard, I find myself repeating: 'We are determined that Algeria will live.'

"For us, Algeria is very important; any positive or negative changes will inevitably affect Libya. Because of Algeria's importance and because of my pride in Algeria, I would like to state my opinion frankly, and I hope that my intentions will not be misunderstood. Nobody, whoever they may be, can outbid the Algerian revolution and its revolutionary record, which is a source of pride for all Arabs. The Algerian people defended their country with blood and not with words, and for this they deserve all respect and esteem."

On the Islamic tendency in Algeria and regarding statements made by some Libyan officials on this phenomenon, Col. al-Qadhdhafi emphasized: "It seems that there has been some exaggeration regarding the Islamic tendency. First of all, there is exaggeration from the Islamic viewpoint, because when it comes to Islam there is no difference between one Algerian and another. One finds natural Muslims in this party or that party—in the National Liberation Front [FLN] or the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS]. The origin of the Algerian revolution was based on shouting 'God Almighty' before opening fire on the enemy; one cannot say that the new-look generation is not Muslim. It represents its times; a woman with a face well made up can still fast and pray in the month of Rajab. This is the logic of the times.

"One should differentiate between the 'FIS' in Algeria, 'Al-Inqadh' in Sudan, 'Hamas,' and other groups—there is a difference between heresy and other forms of extremism."

After condemning supporters of violence and assassination, wherever they may be, he added: "Islam has a responsibility to respect people's education. If Islam is to fly the flag of Salah al-Din again, to halt the march of the Christian nuclear states, and stand side by side with Libya, we welcome this."

As for his view of the Western campaign against Algeria, Col. al-Qadhdhafi indicated: "What worries me is that the whole of Europe has launched a vicious campaign against Algeria. Time had barely passed when everybody began to think about the special gains they may have in Algeria, and they started to sing the song of guaranteeing the rights of the citizen and public liberties.

"The West still perceives us as incapable, and that we have not yet reached legal maturity—adolescence—which it as our guardian has. It believes that we do not know our interests, and that it should guide us in everything. This is insolence, arrogance, empty words, and imperialist language."

Mauritania

Curfew Imposed on Nouakchott, Mouadhibou

LD3001211592 Nouakchott ORTM Radio in Arabic 2030 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The minister of interior, post, and telecommunications informs everyone in Nouakchott and Mouadhibou that a curfew will be effective from this evening between 2100 and 0600 until further notice.

Presidential Candidates' Statement Calls for Unity

LD3001214692 Nouakchott ORTM Radio in Arabic 2030 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The two presidential candidates Mustapha Ould Mohamed Salek and Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Mah today issued a joint press statement in which they warned of the consequences of violence, anarchy, fanning grudges, and vengeful inclinations between the constituents of the Mauritanian people. They requested all citizens to behave with responsibility and to put the unity of the Mauritanian people and their interests above all considerations.

The joint statement warns against anything that could threaten the security and stability of the country, affirms the candidates' adherence to the newborn democratic experiment, and the need to safeguard the democratic process in the country.

Legal Decrees on Legislative Elections Amended

LD3001224892 Nouakchott ORTM Radio in Arabic 2030 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The radio station today received a statement from the Ministry of the Interior, Post, and Telecommunications which says:

In accordance with the amendment to legal decree 0/28/91 issued on 7 October 1991 concerning the statute law which pertains to the election of the National

Assembly, and which was approved by the Military Committee for National Salvation in its extraordinary session on 29 January 1992, the Ministry of Interior, Post, and Telecommunications informs everyone that the new timetable for the submission of candidate lists, their final publication, appeal dates, and the date of the legislative election campaign to elect National Assembly deputies is as follows:

The final date for the submission of candidate lists is midnight, 13 February 1992, while the publication of the candidates list will be on 14 February 1992. The final date for appeals is 16 February 1992. The legislative election campaign starts at midnight, 20 February 1992, and finishes at midnight, 4 March 1992.

Sudan

'Large-Scale' Iranian Military Activity Reported

NC2901190092 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 26 Jan 92 p 9

["Exclusive" from Khartoum]

[Text] During the past few days many Sudanese towns have witnessed large-scale Iranian military activity. Many Iranian naval vessels have been spotted in the area of Trinkitat harbor, south of Sawakin port, on the Red Sea. Two Iranian infantry brigades were also spotted near the city of Arkawit, in eastern Sudan. Reports indicate that the two brigades are carrying out military maneuvers in the city of Ghandakoro [name as published], near Juba, the capital of the southern region.

Reports also confirm that the Iranian forces are stepping up their presence in southern Sudan under the pretext of building the "peace road" between Kusti and Malakal and trying to find new sources of oil. They are also combing the region and confronting the forces of the popular movement lead by Colonel John Garang.

It is noteworthy that the Iranian Government in the last few months has provided al-Bashir's government with 45 tanks and large amounts of supplies and ammunition.

Libyan Delegation Arrives for Unity Talks

EA2701173592 Khartoum SUNA in English 0917 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Khartoum, 27 Jan (SUNA)—Member of the Libyan historical leadership and secretary of General Popular Committee for Defence [title as received], Colonel Abu-Bakr Yunis [Jabir], has arrived here Sunday on a several-day official visit to the Sudan. Col. Yunis was accompanied by assistant secretary-general for the Sudanese-Libyan integration, Musa Abu-Firawa, and the secretary of integration affairs office [title as received], Jum'ah al-Fazzani. "The visit aims at discussing all issues of mutual concern between Sudan and Libya," Yunis said.

He was received upon arrival by member of the Revolution Command Council, Major General al-Tijani Adam al-Tahir, Commander of Staff [title as received] Gen. Hassan 'Abd-al-Rahman, Finance Minister 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, and the secretary of the Libyan brotherhood office to Khartoum, Ramadan Bashir.

Jabir Notes 'Positive' Integration Talks

LD2701190192 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 1715 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Text] Colonel Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabir and Brigadier General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, deputy chairman of the Revolution Command Council and interior minister in sisterly Sudan, held an extended meeting this morning at the Sudanese Council of Ministers Headquarters.

During this meeting they discussed several issues relating to consolidating integration between the Great Jamahiriyah and Sudan to realize unity between the sons of the same Arab people in the two countries as an advanced step on the road to complete comprehensive Arab unity, in addition to several issues of common interest.

Col. Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabir made a statement to the press in which he began by saying: We discussed all matters of common interest relating to the consolidation of the integration march. The results of the topics that we discussed were positive and very beneficial. He went on to say: We discussed cooperation in the economic field and in other fields which positively affects integration and which leads to unity between the Great Jamahiriyah and sisterly Sudan as a step on the road to comprehensive Arab unity. He also hailed the solidarity of the brothers in Sudan with their brothers in the Great Jamahiriyah in the face of the fabricated U.S. and British allegations.

Government Forces Reportedly Aiding Eritreans

PM2301165292 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 21 Jan 92 p 1

[Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah and Hani Naqshabandi report: "Sudanese Forces Involved in Eritrean Infighting"]

[Text] Jeddah—According to informed Eritrean sources, joint Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] and Sudanese forces believed to be from the popular defense forces in eastern Sudan have been involved for over a week in fierce battles with military units of other Eritrean factions including the Unified Organization and the Islamic Jihad Movement [IJM]. The latter was previously supported largely by the Sudanese Government before Khartoum entered into an alliance with [EPLF Secretary General] Isaisa Afewerki.

The sources added that these battles were raging in the areas of Nahr al-Qash and Barakah and that the aim was to destroy any training or deployment camps attached to the Eritrean factions which recently announced their

coordination to resist the EPLF's attempts to monopolize power and decisionmaking in Asmera.

The Sudanese military contribution, the Eritrean sources say, was the result of constant coordination between the Eritrean and Sudanese sides. Some reports speak of Eritrean forces' participation in the Sudanese Army's battles with the Garang movement's forces in the Darfur area, which resulted in the capture of Daoud Polad, deputy commander of the attacking forces, who is currently under interrogation.

The Eritrean informed sources said that the fighting between the EPLF and the other factions was still continuing and that explosions were heard the night before last in the capital of Asmera and other areas.

The recent fighting comes after relative calm in Eritrea pending the results of the efforts to settle the conflict and reconcile the various factions.

According to the same sources, EPLF forces, in cooperation with Sudanese forces, launched a large-scale attack on the rear positions of the forces of the IJM and other Eritrean factions. In a statement he sent to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, IJM Foreign Relations Secretary Muhammad Isma'il 'Abduh said that the attack took place last week near the Sudanese border.

He added that the Sudanese Army captured three IJM Eritreans with two vehicles loaded with supplies and some cash as they were on their way to the mujahidin's forward positions, and that the Sudanese Army handed them over to the EPLF forces. Other sources, however, say that a larger number were handed over to the EPLF by the Sudanese forces. They say that the attack was concentrated in three areas: the Nahr al-Qash area, the Barakah area, and along the northwestern coast of Eritrea.

The sources also say that the forces of the Eritrean factions were attacked from the rear by the Sudanese Army and from the front by the EPLF but that they managed to take cover in the mountains and woods. Some night attacks, they add, resulted by mistake in inter-Sudanese clashes and losses. The Sudanese units attacked one another thinking that they were attacking dissident Eritrean units.

Kuwait

Two Policemen Detained By Iraqis Released

LD2601144992 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1343 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Text] Kuwait, 26 Jan (KUNA)—A responsible Kuwaiti Interior Ministry source today announced that two Kuwaiti policemen—Sa'id Mitfir al-Zamil al-Qahtani and Khalid Dhayf Allah Thamir al-'Utaybi—have been released. They were arrested by the Iraqi police at the beginning of this month after becoming lost.

In a communique, the source said that as a result of intensive contacts made by the Interior Ministry with the International Red Cross Committee, the two policemen were released yesterday.

Iraqi forces captured the two Kuwaiti policemen at the beginning of this month in the demilitarised zone between Kuwait and Iraq while they were on patrol at the Kuwaiti-Iraq border.

'Huge Quantities' of Iraqi Weapons To Be Sold

LD2501091492 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0705 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 25 Jan (KUNA)—Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim said that Kuwait will for the first time become an exporter of arms by selling the huge quantities of arms which the Iraqi enemy left behind and whose value is estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars, something which equals the entire budget of some states.

Shaykh 'Ali al-Sabah, during a tour with some ministers and local newspaper editors last Thursday and whose details were published in some of today's newspapers, added that the Defense Ministry has received many offers to purchase these weapons and booty, but Kuwait has set conditions and procedures for approving such a purchase to prevent the arms from once again falling into the hands of the Iraqi regime. [passage omitted] He said that some Yugoslav companies have made a request to purchase but the request was not approved. However approval was made to sell some of the booty to companies which do not use these weapons [as received] and conditions were put on some American companies wishing to purchase to produce a letter from the U.S. Defense Department giving an undertaking not to sell these weapons to the Iraqi regime. [passage omitted]

Oman

France's Mitterrand Visits, Comments on Ties

LD3001233692 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The beginning of Francois Mitterrand's visit to the Sultanate of Oman: As France is Oman's sixth largest trading partner, this presidential visit should enable stock to be taken of military cooperation and economic exchanges between the two countries. This visit also comes, however, just a year after the Gulf war, hence this analysis by Francois Mitterrand recorded by our special correspondent Ralph Pinto.

[Begin Mitterrand recording] The invasion of Kuwait led our countries to cooperate closely during the crisis and then in the Gulf war—a dramatic event which we lived through side by side; we rejected a fait accompli, demanded the restoration of law, fought to get international legality respected. Now we want to contribute to the advent of an order of peace and security everywhere in the world—in the Middle East where we share the conviction that the hopes of a just peace, however fragile, must not be allowed to slip away; in the Gulf region where we are devoting ourselves, with no one debarred and in conditions of mutual respect, to encouraging the paths of dialogue. [end recording]

Joint Statement Issued

JN3001210392 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1840 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Muscat, 30 Jan (WAKH)—At the conclusion of French President Francois Mitterrand's visit, the two countries issued a joint statement in which they stressed their adherence to the basic principles that should constitute the basis of international relations in light of the important changes in the international arena. The statement stresses the need to respect the internationally acknowledged principles, especially the basic rights of individuals and peoples.

They also stressed that international peace and security are based on balanced relations and solidarity among states, noting that such relations should also be based on mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The two sides stressed that priority should be given to international law and legitimacy, which are guaranteed by the United Nations. They expressed adherence to purposeful dialogue among states and stressed the need to combine international efforts to boost economic and social development in poor countries.

The Omani-French statement says that the two countries have attached special attention to regional issues. They agreed that peace and security in the Gulf region can only be attained through enforcement of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

They stressed that security of the Gulf is the responsibility of its states, and that such security basically stems from an understanding among these states and through respect for each state's sovereignty.

The two countries expressed concern over the dangers that the region can be exposed to as a result of the arms

race and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Sultanate of Oman stressed support for the French plan of 3 June 1991 concerning arms control and disarmament.

Regarding the Middle East situation, especially the Palestine question, the two countries voiced support for the peace talks and the need to bring about a just, durable, and comprehensive peace that ensures the security of all states in the region and the rights of the area's peoples to self-determination in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions.

The two sides urged all parties to have a spirit of perseverance and not to place obstacles in the way of efforts being exerted by the international community to achieve peace in the region. They expressed the conviction that no peaceful solution can be brought about in the region without international guarantees from the United Nations.

On the bilateral level, the two sides decided to bolster bilateral cooperation in all fields. To intensify consultations, they agreed to increase meetings and visits and to consolidate cooperation in international organizations.

They stressed the resolve to bolster cultural and scientific cooperation, as well university exchanges and vocational training, on the basis of mutual benefit. They also expressed the resolve to bolster economic and technical cooperation, especially in the fields of energy, fisheries, and radio and television.

The two side also discussed possibilities for bolstering security and defense cooperation.

Mitterrand News Conference

JN3001204492 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1910 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Muscat, 30 Jan (WAKH)—French President Francois Mitterrand has stressed that the objective of the Gulf war was to implement the UN Security Council resolution adopted in this regard, and because the issue was not a marginal one.

At a press conference, he said that the UN Security Council wanted to restore to Kuwait, which was subjected to an invasion, its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. He stressed that this was the objective of the Gulf war.

Mitterrand said: If we want to speak about the Gulf war in terms of Iraq's responsibility or what was achieved, then we can say that the conflict is over in accordance with what we wanted, despite all the tragedies of war.

President Mitterrand denied that the purpose of the Gulf war was to test weapons. He said: We cannot wage a war for the sake of testing weapons, especially since this conflicts with the humanitarian and peaceful view of the world's life. Mitterrand clarified that his country did not use all its weapons and capabilities during the Gulf war, although these weapons have special skills.

Regarding the multilateral talks which were held in Moscow, Mitterrand said that France did not participate in the conference, but it is playing a role in supporting the peace process. He said that the peace conference is currently facing some difficulties. However, he stressed that the continuation of dialogue is better than its absence. He said that this is the first time the Israelis and Arabs have talked to each other. He expressed the hope that this will take place to pave the way for a new world order.

Concerning the Lebanese problem, the French president [words indistinct] the al-Ta'if agreement to resolve the Lebanese problem, which was not implemented in full, and which stipulates Lebanon's independence and sovereignty.

President Mitterrand spoke about his country's relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] member states and described them as good. He expressed his readiness to intercede with the EC for the sake of bolstering these relations.

With regard to Oman's proposal to form a Gulf force of 100,000 soldiers, the French president said: This decision depends on the GCC states. I prefer cooperation and harmony among the GCC states to their absence from the international arena, for absence, inevitably, only harms peace.

Saudi Arabia

Preachers Warned Against 'Excessive Behavior'

Cleric Flogged for Insulting Women

NC2901212592 Paris AFP in English 2059 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Riyadh, Jan 29 (AFP) - Saudi authorities have warned Islamic preachers against denouncing the Middle East peace talks and ordered flogged one cleric who insulted leaders of a women's association, Western diplomatic sources reported Wednesday. King Fahd on Monday personally intervened to contain a wave of criticism from preachers hostile to negotiations with Israel, stressing that his government was anxious to defend Islam and to conform to Koranic law.

The king, according to reliable sources, warned Islamic radicals against any "excessive behavior" and stressed that "any recourse to means other than peaceful dialogue is excluded."

Saudi Arabia is home to the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina and rigorously applies shira, or Islamic law. Certain preachers, in addition to criticizing Arab participation in the U.S.- and Russian-sponsored peace initiative in their sermons, have recorded their sentiments on

cassettes. Saudi Arabia backs the peace effort and has just taken part alongside Israel in multilateral talks on regional issues in Moscow.

Some of the cassettes have also attacked Western-style interest rates offered by commercial banks here, which certain preachers find contrary to Islam, and the alleged failure of Saudi women to respect Koranic law. But authorities last December sacked and condemned a 40-year-old preacher to 80 lashes after he had used his Friday sermon to insult the leaders of a Saudi women's association, according to Western diplomatic sources.

20 Arrested for 'Extremist' Stands

NC3001113492 Paris AFP in English 1039 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Nicosia, Jan 30 (AFP)—Saudi authorities have arrested some 20 Muslim clerics in the past several weeks for having publicly adopted positions seen as extremist by the government there, Gulf diplomatic sources disclosed Thursday.

They said the clerics were supporters of positions held by the Algerian fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which was tipped to win legislative elections earlier this month before the vote was cancelled by authorities there.

The arrests took the clerics "by surprise," the sources said, as they had been convinced they enjoyed total impunity in Saudi Arabia, where Sharia, or Islamic law, is rigorously applied.

Western diplomatic sources in Riyadh reported Wednesday that Saudi authorities had also warned Islamic preachers against denouncing the Middle East peace talks.

King Fahd, whose country has endorsed Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, personally intervened and warned warned Islamic radicals against any "excessive behavior."

He said "any recourse to means other than peaceful dialogue is excluded."

According to the diplomats some preachers have recorded their sentiments on cassettes and spoke out at prayer gatherings.

In December, a 40-year-old preacher was sacked and condemned to 80 lashes after he had used his Friday sermon to insult the leaders of a Saudi women's association, the Western diplomatic sources said.

Crackdown Coincides With Peace Talks

NC3001144692 Paris AFP in English 1236 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Nicosia, Jan 30 (AFP)—Saudi authorities have arrested 20 Muslim clerics in recent weeks in a bid to stem a rising tide of Islamic fundamentalist agitation, diplomats said here Thursday.

The disclosure coincided with a warning by the director of Saudi internal security, who Thursday told the Saudi daily AL-SHARQ AL- AWSAT that the Gulf crisis had "provoked the appearance of ill- intentioned elements" in the kingdom.

"Saudi security forces will confront them with radical and vigorous means," warned General 'Abdallah ibn-'al-Rahman al-Shaykh.

Analysts said his remarks served as an implicit explanation of recent measures by Saudi authorities against Muslim clerics. [passage omitted covered in referent item]

The reported crackdown coincided with Saudi support for Arab-Israeli peace negotiations and Riyadh's unprecedented participation alongside officials from Israel this week in multilateral talks on the Middle East.

Last week American Jewish leaders also paid a historic visit to Saudi Arabia for talks with officials. [passage omitted]

The deployment of U.S. armed forces during the Gulf crisis in Saudi Arabia—home to the Islamic cities of Mecca and Medina—had disturbed the kingdom's radical clerics.

The preachers were particularly angered by the presence of women soldiers, who were free to drive cars, contrary to Islamic practice in Saudi Arabia which prohibits women from driving.

Apparently encouraged by the freedom enjoyed by the female soldiers, some 70 Saudi women defied authorities in December, 1990 and drove down a street in the Saudi capital Riyadh.

The protest angered religious authorities and the Saudi Government alike, prompting the latter to detain the women for questioning before sacking them from their jobs and confiscating their travel documents.

But in October the sanctions were revoked and the women were pardoned, despite the wishes of several religious leaders who have been campaigning for an end to what they see as the liberalization of Saudi society.

King Fahd Chairs Council of Ministers Session

Consultative Council Statute To Be Issued

LD2701204592 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1900 GMT 27 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Riyadh, 27 Jan (SPA)—King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, the custodian of the two holy mosques, chaired a Council of Ministers session this afternoon, 27 January, at the al-Yamamah Palace in the city of Riyadh. [passage omitted]

At the level of domestic systems, the custodian of the two holy mosques said: We have, praise be to God, completed what we had started. As I have already informed

you in a previous session, the fundamental statute of rule [al-nizam al-asasi li'l-hukm] of the Shura [Consultative] Council and regions system will be issued next Sha'ban [month corresponding to 4 February-4 March]. In this respect, we will benefit from the expertise and competence of many of our sons. We will also work toward developing some of the old systems that are compatible with the requisites of the general renaissance in our country within the framework of our Islamic faith and in the light of our true religion. [passage omitted]

Fahd on 'Certain Forms of Behavior'

PM3001165292 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 28 Jan 92 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "King Fahd Confirms Consultative Council By-Laws to be Issued Next Month; We Tackle Certain Behavior Calmly and Sensibly But Will Deal With Excesses When They Occur"]

[Excerpt] Riyadh, SPA—Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz has stressed the state of security and stability in Saudi Arabia, emphasizing that "the internal situation is sound and strong." He attributed this to the "solid and firm basis of adherence to our Islamic faith in all our religious and temporal affairs ain the service of the two holy mosques and the defense of Islamic holy places everywhere."

King Fahd said: "I have been following matters wisely and carefully, seeking to tackle them in the desirable ways with a view to achieving satisfactory results. Thank God, I have found everyone I have talked to responsive and understanding. As long as we are able to tackle certain forms of behavior calmly and sensibly, why should we resort to other means? However, if matters go too far, then we will deal with that when it happens."

King Fahd made these remarks at the cabinet meeting which he presided over yesterday. [passage omitted]

$2 Billion Loan Extended to Algeria

LD2501095692 Tehran IRNA in English 0640 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Athens, Jan. 25, IRNA—Saudi Arabia has agreed to grant the army-backed rulers of Algeria a loan of dlrs. [dollars] 2,000 million, Algerian newspaper REVOLUTION AFRICAIN reported. The news was reprinted in Arab daily AL-QUDS Friday. The loan has not been officially announced, but King Fahd of Saudi Arabia warmly congratulated the new head of the High State Council of Algeria Mohammad Boudiaf, the paper said.

The military-backed council has taken power for two years after it robbed the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) of its landslide election victory in the first rounds. The new Algerian Interior Minister Larbi Belkheir is expected to visit Riyadh soon. The FIS had angered Saudi Arabia by its support for Iraq during the Persian Gulf war last year.

United Arab Emirates

Al Nuhayyan Returns From Moscow Talks, Comments

JN2901202692 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1705 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Abu-Dhabi, 29 Jan (WAKH)—Shaykh Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, United Arab Emirates [UAE] minister of state for foreign affairs, returned to Abu Dhabi this evening after heading his country's delegation to the multilateral Middle East peace negotiations, which opened in Moscow yesterday.

Upon arrival, Shaykh Hamdan said that the UAE participated in the conference out of a desire to find a practical way to guarantee the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, as well as Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including holy Jerusalem, in accordance with UN resolutions and on the basis of the principle of land for peace.

He added that the absence of some parties directly involved in the peace process has, undoubtedly, reflected negatively on the conference. He also regretted the inability of the Palestinian people's representatives to participate in the conference, as a result of the Israeli Government's intransigent positions.

Shaykh Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan voiced his confidence that during subsequent meetings, the two sponsors of the conference will continue their positive efforts to solve the problems of all parties concerned with Middle East peace.

He stressed that the UAE will effectively participate in upcoming negotiations with all concerned parties.

Republic of Yemen

Cabinet Briefed on Withdrawal From Moscow Talks

JN2901185791 Sanaa Yemeni Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1715 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers held its periodic session this morning under Prime Minister Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas. After reviewing the decisions of its previous session, the Council of Ministers discussed topics on its agenda and made a number of decisions in their regard. [passage omitted]

The Council of Ministers then heard an oral report from Foreign Minister brother Dr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani on why our country decided yesterday to withdraw our ambassador in Moscow from the multilateral negotiations, currently taking place in Moscow. This decision was made in light of the fact that the PLO delegation was not allowed to participate.

It is noteworthy that Algeria and Mauritania voiced their solidarity with our delegation and the Palestinian delegation. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Denies Political Prisoners Held

PM2701141792 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 23 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Colonel Ghalib Mutahhar al-Ghamish by Lutfi Shatarah in Aden; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Shatarah] It has been reported that some political detainees are still being held, that their detention dates back to before Yemen's unity, and that some of them are on the island of Suqatrah. What is your comment on that?

[al-Ghamish] There are no political detainees in prison or anywhere else. Some papers like to exaggerate matters and stir emotions. There are people in prison who have been convicted on criminal charges of murder and other offenses. Because some of them belong to one party or another, attempts are being made to have them released by aborting or trying to mislead justice by claiming in the papers concerned that these are political prisoners.

[Shatarah] What about the crews of the Egyptian fishing boats seized in Yemeni territorial waters?

[al-Ghamish] There has been a recurrence of incidents of the presence of Egyptian fishing boats in Yemen's territorial waters. We used to be satisfied with an undertaking by the fishermen not to do it again, but these boats have continued to fish in Yemeni waters. The most serious thing about it is that some of them use internationally banned fishing methods.

I met with brother Major General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, the Egyptian interior minister, during the Arab interior ministers conference in Tunisia. We discussed the matter and agreed to tackle it through coordination between the two countries. [passage omitted]

[Shatarah] There are persisting reports that arms are being smuggled to Yemen from Ethiopia and Somalia. Have such arms been seized, and what about the perpetrators?

[al-Ghamish] The vast land and sea borders of the unity state (Yemen Republic) place a burden on the shoulders of the interior ministry, the security forces, and the border guards. As a result of the vigilance of these authorities, a number of Egyptians have been caught bringing arms into the Yemen Republic. This matter is still under investigation. We will continue the investigations until we know the aims of these smugglers and those who are behind the smuggling of arms to Yemen. [passage omitted]

Saddam's Second Son Commands 'Special Force'

NC3001164492 (Clandestine) Voice of the Iraqi People in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The defeated tyrant Saddam Husayn has formed a special force to protect him, his palaces, and the points in the country where his troops assemble. Meanwhile, there are reports of mounting unrest in southern Iraq. According to diplomatic sources in Nicosia and Amman, the tyrant's fears are mounting with the growth of the opposition and with the repeated coup attempts against him. The sources note that the new force consists of 10,000 men loyal to Saddam, all of them from his home town. The force is composed of 13 battalions handpicked from the Republican Guards. Qusayy, Saddam's second son, commands that force.

According to the same sources, Saddam has deployed his forces in southern Iraq amid reports of the increasing military power of the Iraqi opposition.

Opposition sources say there is mounting tension in al-Kut city in central Iraq and that the authorities of tyrant Saddam have deployed military units inside the city. The sources add that al-Kut now resembles a military zone and that the population expects a confrontation to erupt soon. Security has been tightened around the al-Kut governor's home and vital areas in the city.

The same sources note that the authorities of butcher Saddam have dispatched a Republican Guards brigade to Badrah,al-Kut Governorate, prior to the first anniversary of our people's blessed uprising.

In a desperate attempt to control the deteriorating security situation in the revolting al-Basrah Governorate, the authorities of the tyrant Saddam have deployed military units at vital points in al-Basrah city. Sources of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution say that machine guns have been installed on rooftops at such points and that one or two troop carriers were positioned at each of these points. The measures coincide with the escalation of attacks by the Iraqi people's heroes against the gangs of Saddam, the enemy of the people and the human race.

Mosul Demonstrators Call for Fall of Regime

JN2501163392 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1540 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Tehran, 25 Jan (SANA)—Huge popular demonstrations took place in the Iraqi city of Mosul in mid-January. Demonstrators chanted anti-Iraqi regime slogans and demanded its toppling.

Unstable conditions are prevailing in the city, thus heralding a huge popular explosion, especially because the elements of the regime's organs in the city have escaped and because Army officers and civilian department officials are showing sympathy for the people.

The Iraqi regime's authorities executed four citizens in public prior to these demonstrations. They are 'Adil Hamid 'Adil, Jawhar Qadir 'Aziz, Husayn Muhammad Ibrahim, and Shakir Muhammad Mustafa, who were charged with opposing the regime and coordinating with the opposition in central and southern Iraq.

Barzan al-Tikriti Views Causes of Soviet Downfall

JN2301184592 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic 13 Jan 92 p 3

["First part" of a series entitled "Some Causes of the Collapse of the Soviet Union" by Barzan al-Tikriti, UN ambassador in Geneva and half brother of President Saddam Husayn]

[Text] During the night of 26 December, and amid amazing calm, especially because no one expected this calm, the edifice of the Soviet Union collapsed before everyone's eyes and ears, the features of a superpower were lost, and its structure disintegrated, without even a single word of regret. Thus, an important historic era has ended, not just in the history of Soviet peoples, but also for the world.

What happened? And how? It is difficult for an observer to probe the depth of the events that shook the Soviet Union, particularly the dramatic events that occurred over the past few months, nor he has the ability to effectively follow these events one by one. Naturally, I do not claim that I have the ability to do so, and it is also logical that others cannot claim this. Gorbachev stands before us as an example. One day in the recent past, before he lost control or before he was about to, he said: "Events in the USSR are escalating very quickly in a way that I myself cannot follow."

Based on this, I say that what I am presenting now is a host of ideas that have come in the form of an attempt to understand the development of events and to arrive at conclusions which are necessary, because whether we like it or not, we still interact with this big country, whose area used to be one-sixth of the globe and which used to have strong relations with us as Arabs or Arab states that extended over four decades. Above all, it is close to us, and it left behind republics which do not know their destinations accurately, and which include 65 million Muslims who are led by a large number of orientalists and those who view our civilization and culture as the basic spring to understand and entrench their religion, which they have been prevented from practicing for seven decades.

When an observer thinks of what took place in the "former USSR", as some news media like to call today, or when he thinks of its current shape, he basically thinks of Marxist-Leninist theory, which was based on prohibiting nationalism, religion, and private property, and the attempt to convince itself that it succeeded in destroying this compound trinity, which is a mixture of psychological, moral, and spiritual values which have deep roots in man's mind and soul, and which constitutes a unique

mixture that defines man's instincts, characteristics, and inclinations, and which consequently lead to an inseparable merger. Any attempt to separate this and that is only an attempt to separate water and water after mixing them in the same pot.

Regrettably, and it is not an adequate word here, we want to say that people obey their institutions not because they are convinced of the content of the theory or the policy of this institution. Regrettably, this is almost the case with most "revolutionary" parties under whose canopy law and logic are lost on the pretext of safeguarding the "revolution" and its achievements before it makes any achievements, a pretext that comes before anything and above everything. Thus, amid such an abnormal atmosphere, the "deprived masses" come to try to benefit from the absence of law and to profit from a handful of these temporary achievements at the expense of the others, and more dangerously, at the expense of law and logic. So, we see them indulging in their illegal gains. These masses themselves, however, will soon discover that dipping into these has a limit and that they should give as they take. But, the price for their offering will be much more than their gains, because they should relinquish their freedom, and maybe their dignity, and thus gradually their values, religion, and beliefs. The list of concessions becomes longer, because in addition to this, they must obey their government.

Above all this, the revolutionary authority itself tries to convince itself that people obey it, carry out its orders, and take to the streets to express support for it as a result of an irresistible desire, deep love, and a strong conviction. In light of this, it makes important decisions about all walks of life, while, if such matters take place willingly and spontaneously, they will not be useful for more than knowing people's temper. However, if they are guided, then the authority should know this fact and should not convince itself of the opposite.

If we want to return to our original subject, it is clear that, after more than 70 years, the reality was not like this, but the opposite is true. What became clear was that the people are still committed to and proud of their roots and origins and are working relentlessly to preserve their customs and traditions, which is now known as (national) pride.

It was also clear that the instinct of possession has not been eliminated from people. The best evidence of this was several experiments which examined this serious instinct when the products of a cooperative farm in a remote Soviet village were collected in a warehouse that was left free for all inhabitants of the village to take from in accordance with their needs. This was the first practical experiment, and at the same time it was a test for communist ideology, which is based on "each according to his needs."

I say, it was found later that the instinct of possession won and it was found that the village inhabitants, who were all producers of foodstuffs, were taking more than their needs from the warehouse and were hiding the surplus in secret places in their houses and under their beds for fear that others might see what they had hidden.

It was also revealed that the people were still worshipping God as a result of real faith. Among these people were leaders and cadres of the CPSU and other communist parties in the world, in addition to the family members of these ranking leaders. Perhaps Mrs. Raisa Gorbachev gives the best description of this issue in her memoirs and how she was secretly baptized and how she performed religious rites secretly with the rest of her family members. This is evidence on the belief of those people in God, and on the failure of Marxist-Leninist theory to convince them that neither God nor the afterlife exist.

The independence from the Soviet Union of the three Baltic republics, which are proud of their old nationalism and roots, was more evidence of the adherence of the peoples of these republics to their national roots, which are completely different from the Russian and Slavic nationalities, which are the most important nationalities that comprised the Soviet Union.

If we want to tackle another important aspect of this subject, which is the economic aspect, we should not be shortsighted to the extent that we are led to imagine that the economic collapse of the Soviet Union occurred only because this country, which has a huge area and population, has devoted most of its revenues and capabilities to manufacturing weapons due to the arms race, which was at its peak with the West in general and the United States in particular. The other basic reason for this collapse is the lack of a spirit of competition in production, which in turn influences the desire for quality, quantity, and the comfortable flow of commodities to citizens. The absence of creativity, in addition to the spread of corruption and bureaucracy in the administrative organs and other production sectors, is due to these employment feelings which are completely void of competitiveness and which killed the creative spirit and enthusiasm. On the other hand, we note other feelings that accompany the production process from beginning to end which have become part and parcel of the production project itself. The feelings of the employer, or the (money owner), as the common people refer to him, is totally different from the feelings of the production supervisor, the machine supervisor, or the worker. This issue does not need further explanation.

As long as I have not moved from this point, I think it may be necessary to refer to an important issue that deals with the "hope" that represents a basic need for all people without exception. I can say that all people need a "dream" or a "vision." Either there should be paradise on earth or a paradise in the hereafter.

The religions preach about paradise in the other life. Naturally, Marxist-Leninist theory does not preach about this paradise because it is a creed that cancels religion and believes that the universe was only created

by accident and that man has reached this form as a result of evolution. Hence, the Marxist-Leninist was in dire need of a "hope" to give to the people, a hope of paradise on earth. The Soviet people with their various groups and complexities were eagerly awaiting this hope because they had no other option than the one drawn for them. They had to believe that there was no other paradise waiting for them other than the paradise on earth. The reality was that there was no paradise or anything else.

While delivering his resignation speech on Soviet television on 26 December, Gorbachev said: We had a lot of everything: land, oil, gas, and other natural resources. There were abundant minds and talents, but despite this we were living in a situation that was much worse than that of the people in the industrial countries. We were increasingly lagging behind them.

Gorbachev said more than that in his letter of resignation, which has become a historic document described by observers as a Greek tragedy, because he was the first Soviet president to resign in that way. The red flag with its sickle and hammer was lowered on the same night, signalling the end of the Soviet Union.

Throughout those 74 years, the CPSU leaders forgot another thing. They failed to realize that although they had managed to protect their system and their peoples from epidemics like AIDS, they forgot to realize a similar reality that peoples had not previously known immunity against enlightening thoughts and principles which call for freedom, dignity, and human rights. Humanity also did not know immunity from the elements of a positive life, as these spread as quickly as disease, but with a difference. People themselves helped in that. When they felt they were banned from adopting or embracing these thoughts, they became fonder of them and felt a stronger desire to adopt them.

In brief, diseases in the past caused infection, but matters have become different. For the first time in history, good health has become infectious.

Another fact applying not only to the (former) Soviet Union but also to the different systems that still exist is that streets, not palaces, now decide matters and important developments in the new age because it has been proven that peaceful demonstrations are a sharper and more effective weapon than armies' weapons.

The other important fact that has led the USSR to this particular juncture is the logic of power, if power has a logic—a power which was undoubtedly misused over many long years and which affected entire generations. Although almost all the inhabitants of the USSR had not tasted freedom because they were born after 1917 and witnessed liquidation, arrests, and exile, they undoubtedly knew what freeedom was. So, when people felt that that power had begun to absolutely weaken, every one acted out of his own trend and thought, although the people's goal was one, namely freedom, democracy, and a better life. However, ways of expression differed largely because no one knew how to attain his goal. Nor did the leadership that moved in this direction. This indicated confusion and the leadership's failure to control the different trends. In short, movement from old modes of life to a new desired life is not easy.

As for power and its logic, I will quote Dobrynin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the first official in charge of Soviet-U.S. relations, who spent 26 straight years as Soviet ambassador to Washington. He dealt with six U.S. presidents: John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush, in addition to their secretaries of state and national security advisers. This is exactly what Dobrynin said: "In fact, the logic of power dominated us all. We deceived ourselves, and we all were ready to deceive ourselves."

Dobrynin narrated a long story which took place in the late sixties when Lyndon Johnson was president and Hubert Humphrey was vice president. Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Grechko once visited Washington, where he met with the U.S. vice president at a banquet. They had a conversation during which they chatted about different types of hunting. The Soviet defense minister said that the most interesting hunt is hunting wild boar in the Russian forests. He said that Humphrey should try this delight himself. The vice president understood this to be an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. The dinner was over, and so was the visit. The U.S. vice president informed Johnson that the Soviet minister invited him to Russia. The president approved the idea. Humphrey contacted Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador in Washington, to inform him of his acceptance of the invitation and to tell him that he was awaiting a date for the visit. Dobrynin sent a cable to Moscow relating the vice president's acceptance of the invitation. Grechko's response was: What invitation? I extended no invitation to him. Dobrynin cabled Moscow again to say that the vice president understood the conversation to be an invitation, and he suggested that the inevitable invitation be addressed. Following a Politburo meeting, the invitation was approved.

Vice President Humphrey arrived in Moscow, and the two went out hunting. Afterwards they went to one of the Soviet leadership's luxurious guesthouses, where they had dinner and everybody fell asleep after having too much to eat and drink.

Marshal Grechko woke up early in the morning. Aware of what had happened, he asked a group of snipers in his entourage to shoot a huge wild boar for him at any price and to bring it to the guesthouse before the U.S. vice president awoke. When Humphrey awoke, the wild boar was there, and he was told that he had shot it. Humphrey began to think, trying to remember whether he had taken his gun with him the day before and fired a shot which struck that huge boar. After a while he was convinced of what Marshal Grechko had said. Humphrey flew back home carrying aboard the plane the head of the wild boar "he shot," mounted and ready. Dobrynin recalls the

excitement of the scene when the vice president disembarked with the head of the wild boar that he had killed with one shot. This was the self-deception in our relations.

There is another issue concerning the defect in the status of the Soviet Union as a superpower. It goes without saying that superpowers, and also small powers, are based on four major pillars, which necessarily should be balanced. These pillars are:
1. A strong economy.
2. Strong social coherence and harmony.
3. A strong consensus on a specific national objective.
4. An armed force and the force's capabilities.

Perhaps I deliberately ordered these factors in the above manner so that the economic base would remain the basic pillar and the instrument that maintains balance among the other factors. Thus, we see that the Soviet Union placed the forth factor in first place, while the first factor was ranked last. Perhaps this has been one cause of the retreat of the Soviet Union. It is difficult to imagine a building without an economic foundation. Thus, the world presents us with a unique example. The Soviet Union collapsed because of its weak economy, despite its mammoth military power. Meanwhile, Japan continued its steady growth, and it now possesses a strong economy without any military strength. Some analysts say that the first three factors were nonexistent in the Soviet Union, or at least they were weak and fragile. Consequently, the last factor—military strength—was not sufficient for the survival of this superpower. This is because there is no role for military strength in peacetime. In fact, the first three factors are the decisive ones.

As a result of this, a popular joke in the Soviet Union went like this: Former Soviet leader Khrushchev (prime minister from 1956 to 1964) met in heaven with his successor, Brezhnev (party and state leader from 1964 to 1982). They had been receiving daily news from the Soviet Union. Naturally, the news about perestroyka, which means restructuring, topped everything else. Khrushchev asked Brezhnev: Did you build anything while there? Brezhnev answered in the negative and asked Khrushchev: What about you? Did you build anything while you were there? Khrushchev answered: Never, and added with a perplexed look on his face: What then are they restructuring?

These are impressions, but the truth could be summarized in three pictures.

The first is the socioeconomic picture and the extent of its influence on Gorbachev's position. It reflects the views of the Western information bodies which were presented to the U.S. National Security Council in a report prepared by the CIA and U.S. military intelligence.

The report says that Gorbachev's plans to get the frozen Soviet economy moving reached an impasse in 1987 due to several problems such as weather, transportation, and confusion resulting from introducing economic reforms. The end result was that the growth rate in the Soviet economy in 1987 was less than 1 percent. This rate reminds us of the growth rate and stagnation during the Brezhnev era.

Gorbachev tried to introduce some ideas and regulations. He concentrated on 1,500 industrial centers. These ideas and regulations threw some of these centers into confusion in terms of production. As for the idea of improving wages, reducing the number of workers, and amending the financial systems, it led to disturbing the duties for managers with the result that the growth in the industrial sector did not exceed 1 and ½ percent.

Expansion in other sectors was almost nonexistent. Agricultural production dropped by 3 percent from the year before. Undoubtedly, these combined results had serious consequences, especially because Gorbachev badly needed a good growth rate and did not only want movement in the economy. However, Gorbachev was incapable of getting the economy moving and could not provide consumer goods to the Soviet people. To realize a high growth rate and provide consumer goods to the hungry Soviet people required great investments which he could not provide unless he:

1. Cut military production, which was about 15 to 17 percent of Soviet national production. The Army would not have approved of this. If Gorbachev insisted, he would have had to confront this tremendous military establishment.

2. Changed investment ratios. The ratio of Soviet investments in energy and agriculture reached about 50 percent of all investment. After careful consideration, Gorbachev found that it was difficult to take steps to transfer some of these investments to consumer industries and that such steps would lead to great problems that could harm the Soviet economy.

'Second Part' of Article

JN2301204692 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic
14 Jan 92 p 3

["Second part" of a series entitled "Some Causes of the Collapse of the Soviet Union" by Barzan al-Tikriti, UN ambassador in Geneva and half brother of President Saddam Husayn]

[Text] 3. Obtaining foreign resources through trade and imported technology. Such a matter encounters obstacles that prevent this from being achieved, especially under these circumstances. The result, according to the report, is that the Soviet community will face difficulties in the future which will affect the Soviet leadership.

The report continues: In addition to this, the Soviet bureaucracy feels frustrated because it has lost its privileges, in addition to the armed forces' concern over encroachment on their privileges and budget.

The report points to the aggravation of the economic situation and ethnic problems, the increase of suspicion

between the people on the one hand and the party and the government on the other, and the escalation of various nationalities' protests.

In this regard, we should refer to the well-known interview that THE LOS ANGELES TIMES conducted with Aleksandr Yakovlev, who is considered the engineer of perestroyka and glasnost, in which he said: After beginning the reforms it was discovered that the system could only be partially reformed. Immediately after the appearance of freedom and glasnost, political pluralism surfaced and talk began about diversifying economic types, particularly the private property types. However, the socialist system that was in effect in our country could not accept these developments. So, it began to reject them just as the body rejects a strange organ. Thus, serious contradictions appeared in the system.

Yakovlev, who was a CPSU Politburo member before he resigned at the end of last July and warned against the coup attempt that took place in the second week of last August, added: When something new appears in an old system, then the old one should die first. However, this system in our country did not die. On the contrary, the regime not only tried to save itself in August, but it also tried to abort perestroyka. Eventually, it failed to safeguard its existence and killed itself. I do not rule out the return of dictatorship.

Yakovlev, whom the extremists hold responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the reneging on socialism, and the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, which, until 10 years ago, was considered a world revolution, said: We could have dealt with many things in a better way, particularly economic problems. We should have transformed the military plants into industrial plants. We should have finalized the plans on the market economy sooner.

The engineer of perestroyka, who approximately seven years before wrote the first political study on glasnost and perestroyka, added: I said several times that the agricultural sector should have been the first field to implement perestroyka. I proposed the distribution of land that was difficult to cultivate and on which there were no collective farms, to farmers, but Gorbachev, although he approved the proposal, said that such a measure would violate ideological principles.

This is what Yakovlev, who on 26 December put his files and papers in boxes and left the Kremlin along with the Soviet president, said. He forgot to say something important, however, something of which I would like to remind him now: Such totalitarian regimes, which put the country and themselves at an impasse, begin reform attempts, but at the same time they do not want to aspire to true reform. In fact, they seek a reform that is tailored to suit their own standards and to safeguard their interests and influence. So, immediately after they take such a step, everything begins to collapse.

The second picture is the most serious because it lies within the authority and is very close to the center of decisionmaking. The best people to explain this picture are Deputy Minister of Justice Vyshinskiy and Dr. Granovich, head of the Academy of the National Economy. During a session held in Moscow under the slogan "Perestroyka and the Third World," the deputy minister of justice said:

1. The government and the party practiced their authority for a long time outside the law and the Constitution. It is time to establish a state based on law.

2. There is a jungle of laws in the Soviet Union, as he put it. Every law, he said, needs five laws from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to be applicable and needs 60 decisions by the Council of Ministers to explain its provisions.

3. Our state has not witnessed any development in civil life since it was established. There should be laws allowing people to express their opinions, including the word (no) when necessary.

4. The Soviet economy was outside and, sometimes, above the law. Vyshinskiy added that the economy needs stable laws. He quoted Lenin, who said that it was impossible for the economy to be run by directives. Matters become more difficult when there is a desire to absorb modern technology and to respond to market movements.

5. Laws did not offer any guarantee of ownership. The deputy minister of justice said: We need new forms of ownership relationships. The idea of ownership was distorted for a long time, and it is time to respect ownership under the law and without any fear.

It is noteworthy that state ownership in 1988 reached 88 percent in all areas, whereas private ownership did not exceed 0.32 percent, and the remainder consisted of cooperative ownership. In fact, the state's monopoly on ownership deprived individuals of all types of incentives and initiative.

Dr. Granovich, head of the Academy of the National Economy, concentrated on the following during the same session:

1. The centralization of planning and administration led to economic disasters. He explained: We had more than 100,000 establishments in industry and agriculture producing 28 million kinds of products. All this cannot be planned for or run centrally.

2. Planning and administration on that large a scale led to a deterioration in the quality of production. It not only harmed the quality of goods and exports but also hurt the Soviet consumer, who lost confidence in domestic products and searched for ways to get imported goods.

3. The Soviet economist said: We have moved far away from world market activity. This has been reflected in the rate exchange of the ruble, which buys one and

one-half dollars at the official exchange rate. In fact, however, one dollar buys 12 rubles. This has led to a large-scale black market.

4. There are various estimates about the volume of dealings in the black market. Some say it is in the neighborhood of $100 billion, while others say it amounts to $280 billion.

5. The fact that must regrettably be said to our comrades in the Third World is that we have 12 million unemployed or semiemployed people.

The third picture is that which can be seen by any visitor to Moscow in its markets, universities, clubs, hotels, museums, and churches. Any vistitor can emerge from these places with the impression that he has seen a great nation which took it upon itself to realize a huge human dream, and that unfortunately this dream will not be realized for many reasons, some of which we mentioned at the beginning of this article.

This nation is the same one that defeated Nazism and paid for that with 20 million dead from the best of its youth. This nation eventually discovered that the chance to attain victory had slipped away from its hand. This has had a strongly negative psychological effect on this nation and on other similar nations which are experiencing the same circumstances. This is because nations do not offer sacrifices in wars in order to place laurels of glory on the heads of leaders. Rather, they offer sacrifices in order to attain a better tomorrow. However, this tomorrow has not been attained by the Russian nation.

People in the Soviet Union used to say: Yesterday was bad and tomorrow will be better. However, nobody told us about today. As a result of these circumstances and of the suppressed feelings, several phenomena appeared in the Soviet Union, including:

The phenomenon of the total return to religion has been the result of a feeling of despair or weakness which leaves a vacuum that religion is ready to fill, especially this kind of vacuum. It is said that those who go to church—churches remained closed for more than half a century—are seen with tears in their eyes, but no one knows the reason for these tears. Are they tears of devoutness or sadness?

The phenomenon of the return to a kind of nationalism which reaches the point of fanaticism. The evidence of this is the setting up of a monument for the victims of World War II. Another thing that most visitors to Moscow can see is the more than 2 km-long line in front of Lenin's Tomb. Among those waiting are young men in their wedding suits waiting for their turn to have a look at the preserved corpse of Lenin before continuing their wedding festivities. At the same time, the tomb stands in front of GUM, the largest commercial store and whose shelves are empty.

What the visitor to Moscow senses is skepticism. All people around visitors watch and follow them with a skeptical look that is full of doubt and suspicion.

The phenomenon of sensitivity toward foreigners is due to Soviet citizens' belief that visitors to Moscow coming from the Third World are eating and studying at their expense, and that visitors from the West have come to lament and observe their conditions.

There is the phenomenon of complaining for every reason, and sometimes without a reason. Despite this, there are good reasons, particularly the complaint by youths of low wages, the scarcity of commodities, restrictions imposed on travel, disruptions in communications with the outside world, the impossibility of realizing their ambitions, and the comparison between their condition and that of the West, etc. But mostly, the complaints are made without reasons and are voiced by people who lived in the age of decline, contributed to it, and then found themselves at the vanguard of perestroyka.

On this phenomenon of complaint and depression, a man close to veteran Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko said that Gromyko does not know how to smile. He added that once he tried to draw his attention to this issue and Gromyko replied: I can smile, but don't you see that smiling would be seen as unnatural?

He described Gromyko as a man who believes in the exchange of views, but what exchange of views? His aides used to come to him with their views and then leave with his view.

There is the phenomenon of superstitions. During this period the phenomenon of fortune tellers spread widely. During the same period, a story was spread in the Soviet Union and in Moscow in particular about a girl who had the ability to cure diseases and prolong life, and that she had treated Brezhnev during his later years. There were people who believed some of these stories which said that this girl was able to prolong Brezhnev's life for at least five years.

One of the other phenomena is the lack of belief in the leadership except for Lenin. When you ask about Stalin, the immediate answer is that he was a criminal. When you ask or discuss the Khrushchev era you hear a view summed up in that (it was not good).

As for Brezhnev, the Soviets mostly describe him as a (disaster) for the Soviet Union, and that he contributed to weakening the country during the later years of his rule. As for Andropov, people speak about him with sorrow, saying he (died quickly). You feel clear sorrow for the quick death of Andropov. When talk centers on Gorbachev, a silence prevails and the speaker concludes his views on Gorbachev by saying: We will wait and see.

At that time a joke spread in the Soviet Union. The joke said that the Soviet train has been driven by several successive engineers, each with a different style of

driving. Stalin killed all the passengers, leaving only one passenger with him. That passenger was Beriya, then Stalin's interior minister, who was known for his violence. Stalin drove the train with the corpses of the passengers. When Khrushchev took charge of the train, he did nothing but move the bodies away and drive the train aimlessly. As for Brezhnev, he stopped the train and convinced the passengers to imitate the sound of the train to convince themselves that the train was moving. However, the fact was that the train was not moving, or rather, it was out of order. When you ask about Gorbachev the answer comes quickly: "The sound of the train is heard and the horn is being sounded; everybody is waiting for the train to depart, but nothing has happened so far." When you ask about Lenin, the answer comes: "Lenin is another story. His role needs to be studied and scrutinized. So far this is a difficult thing to do."

We can say the phenomenon of disbelief in the Soviet leaders has not spared Lenin himself. This is what we saw during the incidents of last August when everybody saw on television how the Lenin statue was lifted in a humiliating manner and thrown into truck, and how it was then dumped in an unknown area.

This is what has happened in the Soviet Union for this and other reasons, which will inevitably be revealed in the future. I hope that no more of this great country's defects, demerits, and secrets will be revealed in such a manner which would make sincere people anywhere in the world, especially politicians, feel ashamed and embarrassed. That would lead to psychological setbacks and uncertainty.

This is what happened in that country which was considered one of the world's two superpowers.

The Soviet Union is a society which has the world's highest literacy rate and many specialists in history, literature, sciences, and the arts. At the same time, Soviet society has made prominent contributions to human civilization. It is one of the societies which rapidly transferred from an agricultural society to a society with nuclear power and which traveled to outer space. It is the same society that supported the Third World and the Arabs with understanding and firmness at the most difficult times. Therefore, Soviet society is a great nation. However, the collapse took place because the spirit of creativity has been killed and because of the long lull. Nobody could have stopped or prevented what happened, and neither could have the attempted military coup, in fact speeded the collapse instead of stopping it.

One thing could have helped stop the collapse. This would have been coming up with the potential to meet the needs of the Soviet citizen, in addition to policies and measures that could have helped rectify matters to give people freedom in everything, in accordance with a clear and known law which represents the will and interests of everyone and not one particular faction, whether this faction is a party or a group. This did not happen because of the lack and unavailability of potential.

I once had a meeting with Mr. [Yevgeniy] Makeyev, the Soviet ambassador to Geneva, with whom I have a relationship that is a little more than that between any two ambassadors. He is a man who understands our problems and is eager to help us. At the same time, he was candid with me despite the pain I noticed in his eyes. I asked him: Why have you adopted this position? How do you let this happen while you watched? I also said that we did not remember such a situation in the past; the Soviet Union is a superpower, and it must be present and have a role in solving world problems, and there is no problem bigger than the current one. I was referring to the war between Iraq and the U.S.-led Western coalition. I also asked: Why this leniency? If you continue to withdraw before the United States, it will be obstinate and uncontrollable. I was asking these questions and imagining, like anybody else, that the Soviet Union would remain a superpower and that it must resume its role and recover its status after taking a short breather.

When I told my ambassador friend Makeyev that his country's problem was $50 billion and that Iraq alone would have been able to give it that, he replied: Comrade —at that time we addressed one another as comrade— when you were in good shape you did not give us any part of this amount and went to others. Now the others are killing you. He added with pain: Now it is too late. You must solve your problems by yourselves and accept what happened because nobody will be able to stand by you now.

I understood what Makeyev meant. I told him that our problem and story is like the story of [Iraqi Kurdish opposition leader] Jalal Talabani and the Iraqi interior minister in 1970-71. When Talabani went to him to discuss some of his problems, the minister told him: You must understand that if Mullah Mustafa Barzani [late Kurdish leader and father of Mas'ud Barzani] telephones me now and tells me to arrest you, I will arrest you. Talabani answered by saying: Now I understand; say no more. Talabani then left the ministry and never returned. I also told the ambassador that I understood, that there was no need for him to elaborate.

If we delve further into the matter and review the events during the Communist Party's rule and the way it ran the country and the people, we will find more mistakes which are no less serious than the ones we mentioned at the beginning and which were instrumental in bringing down the regime and dismembering the Soviet Union in this way. I regret this dismemberment despite the fact that I am not a communist. However, I am of a Third World country and I am part of a small state which is interested in having two poles in the world. This is because, as does any other person, I fear a single power in the world because, intentionally or otherwise, the results will be at my expense and the expense of the little states. So much has happened in such a short time to prove my point.

The weakening of the Soviet Union before its collapse is the best proof of what I say, and I do not think there is any need to go into detail.

The most important factor that ruined this superpower from within was the establishment of the Soviet Union as an absolute dictatorship, the closed one-party system in every sense of this word. This reminds me of the popular proverb: One hand cannot clap. The second factor is that the Soviet Union established itself by violence and indulged in employing violence. Violence does not at all mean strength. If we delve deep into the meaning of the word, we find that the system that uses violence weakens itself and that when it goes too far in employing violence it undermines its legitimacy. This is what happened in the Soviet Union, which employed intimidation and coercion in addition to violence.

It is not our intention to talk here of the forms of terror and violence used across the country, because that will take a long time and because that is not part of our topic. I am interested, however, in the existing relationship between this organized violence by the authorities and the fate of the Soviet Union resulting from this violence. I will not elaborate further on this issue, but I will give some living examples which, despite being utterly simple, reflect the reasons and causes of the events.

On the eve of the vote on Ukrainian independence from the Soviet Union, I saw interviews with ordinary people by Ukrainian television and even by the Soviet and Western television networks, asking them their opinions about independence. A reporter asked a pro-independence man why he was so enthusiastic about independence. The man answered: I spent six years in prison because of silly reasons related to my opposition to the regime.

'Third Part' of Article

JN2401074692 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic
15 Jan 92 p 3

["Third part" of series entitled "Some Causes of the Collapse of the Soviet Union" by Barzan al-Tikriti, UN ambassador in Geneva and half brother of President Saddam Husayn]

[Text] Levko Lukianenko [name as published], leader of the Ukrainian National Republican Party, who led the campaign for Ukraine's independence from the USSR, spent 27 years in jail and Soviet labor camps for his involvement in political activities. On the eve of the vote on Ukrainian independence, he appeared on television and said: "Only as an independent state can Ukraine become a prosperous country." This simple statement reflects the injustice and coercion which is deep in his heart.

What we conclude from these examples and pieces of evidence is that states and regimes which practice coercion and terrorism will collapse from the first shock they face.

Third [as published]: The citizens of the Soviet Union were very scared; they looked around themselves with fear. When such an abnormal state of being, which is contrary to human dignity, is allowed to continue, citizens turn into stupid submissive cowards who cannot say no or think for themselves. They become people of limited horizons and gradually turn into defeated and stupid people.

Fourth: The regime destroyed the press and turned it into a paper for ads and announcements that was supposed to be distributed free of charge, but in the Soviet Union it was imposed on the people who paid for it.

Fifth: The regime created a special concept of conspiracy and treason, as well as a special concept of patriotism. In accordance with this, it accused all those who differed with it over an issue of high treason and conspiracy.

Sixth: The regime imposed blasphemy and apostasy on the people; it prevented them from performing their religious rites in mosques and churches, and banned any mention of God. That regime was not aware that to an individual, faith is like his spinal cord; how can a person move if his spinal cord is damaged?

Seventh: The regime created a special concept of family and family relations. The wife spied on her husband while the girl wrote reports on her mother, father, and brother. Therefore, families lost their special bonds, fear prevailed, confidence was lost, and signs of reassurance vanished.

Eighth: The regime deprived citizens of the right to own anything; the government seized everybody's property. The government drowned in this situation and lost control. It could not go back or satisfy the people, because it is difficult for such regimes to satisfy people's daily needs.

Ninth: The regime monopolized all major and minor jobs. Those who were loyal to the party, not the homeland, were given these jobs. People with national experience were excluded from these jobs. That regime paid attention only to those who exhibited blind obedience to the party.

Tenth: The regime allocated and spent most of the national resources on armaments at the expense of national security. This was a major cause in pushing things toward the end.

Now, the United States stands alone in the arena. What used to be called the Soviet Union no longer exits, and nobody even remembers what used to be called Eastern Europe. As for the Arab homeland, its ambitions to master science and knowledge and to enter the era from its wide door have been hit in the heart. I can say, with regret and bitterness, that the Arab homeland's decision-making has been seized, just like its wealth, and that the strength of the Arabs, represented by Iraq, has been

weakened as a result of the barbaric war of America and its allies—the war whose form, size, and results are not justified.

What will the picture of the United States be like now that all the ideological, political, and even military challenges it faced in the past, particularly after World War II, have disappeared?

There are many questions, and each can in turn create dozens more questions that pop into and preoccupy one's mind.

There is another topic that is not far from the one we are discussing. To simplify the matter, we can say that the absence of the spirit of challenge and danger, reasons for conflicts, hot and cold wars alike, and competition, will all lead to a state of weakness and slackness. As a result of this, the United States will become one of its most important chapters. So far, there has been no agreement on the concept of the American nation or the American national spirit. America is a nonhomogeneous and nonharmonious society due to reasons related to the citizens' level of education and standard of living, not to mention their different inclinations and walks of life. It is likely that in the future their society, which is no more than a mixture of races, will face many difficulties with regard to maintaining the current minimum level of homogeneity and harmony. The circumstances of the hot war, and the challenges of the cold war on the other side, have helped to maintain that society's cohesion.

Now that the opposite side and its allies no longer exist, we wonder what is left of the American nation's ambitions, and how will it maintain its harmony and unity at a time when there are no challenges?

Here, we must mention how the U.S. authorities resorted to arresting U.S. citizens of Japanese origin during World War II. Neither their U.S. citizenship, language, or their birth and the birth of their fathers and grandfathers on U.S. soil helped them. In the eyes of U.S. authorities during the war, they remained Japanese enemies despite their citizenship, language, and place of birth.

Now that American society consists of hundreds of various races, who can safeguard them and prevent—through conviction and democratic concepts—their fragmentation without a threat or a challenge, taking into consideration this nonhomogeneous and nonharmonious mixture of people?

In my view, the fall of the USSR, its fragmentation, and the collapse of the former European socialist states do not end a war that lasted all that time. I can say that this major event will prepare the climate for unpredictable events in terms of size, form, and limits.

Regarding the situation in Russia and the other republics, which have recently become independent from the Soviet Union—an issue we have to consider carefully—we can say it is still, in my view, vague and (gloomy) and does not carry any good tidings. How?

Everything in the Soviet Union has come late, including the free prices announced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and applied on the second day of this year.

Many observers and analysts, as well as those interested in Soviet affairs, believe that the decision to free prices has come too late, at a time when unrest prevails in all walks of life, including the economy, which is a primary source of the problem.

I believe that some economic changes, or more specifically, the trends of their economic changes, lack sound thinking, especially what is called the free-price system, which will not, in my view, be free unless an economy free of monopolies is established. Second [as published], prices will be free only if the private sector is allowed to conduct activities in both the wholesale and retail markets. Third, lifting price controls requires the closure of the market not only to manufactured goods, but also to means of production, land reclamation, and building houses so that financial revenues can permeate all sectors, beginning with foodstuffs and consumer goods and ending with production means, that is, all the sectors. [sentence as published]

Therefore, any hope that the decision to free prices will constitute a magic key for solving the problems of Russia and the other republics, which have become independent from the Soviet Union, will be a serious mistake.

On the contrary, such a hasty step may disturb rather than reform the economic situation.

Yeltsin may make the same mistake made by Gorbachev, his former rival, who later became his friend and who turned again into a rival, when Gorbachev made hasty steps and wanted to apply his reforms by pursuing the policy of (burning bridges) or taking very large steps beyond Soviet capability. Here I must remind the reader and (Yeltsin) himself of Yakovlev, who said that after the start of the reform process, he discovered that reforming the system can only be achieved partially because the requirements of radical reforms were unavailable, as was the case in the past.

I believe that rectifying the economic situation and making necessary daily consumer commodities available will require patient radical reform. Even psychological remedies are needed to help the individual restore confidence in himself, and in the producers and markets as well. This also requires capital, which is missing in these republics but which is available in the other side, that is, in the West. The West has its own calculations in helping the former USSR in terms of size, method, and timing. The West itself, which led things this far, but not to this end, is not ready to offer to the independent republics, with their different and various races, large amounts of aid within a short period of time, even if the situation deteriorates in these countries.

Prevailing opinion says that the West will just watch the situation in Russia and the newly independent republics as long as there are no civil wars there. When signs of imminent surprises appear, threatening the West or peace in the region, the West will make a small hole in its bag to offer some aid to calm down the disturbances, safeguard its investments, if indeed there are any there, so that these republics will get by with a minimum standard of living.

In light of the current world situation, and in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, we can raise questions and possibilities, and draw conclusions with regard to the internal situation in the United States itself, and the internal situation in the Russian Federation and its relations with the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, on the effect of the new world order on relations within NATO, and the effect of American hegemony on the emergence of the Islamic tide in the Arab region.

First: Will the end of the cold war extinguish the Americans' spirit of challenge? Will this have a negative impact on the nature of the nonhomogeneous and nonharmonious American society? Will democracy and freedom there preserve that society's unity and coherence?

Will some American states—which believe that their wealth and resources go to the less-wealthy states and which have a feeling that they should become independent because of their natural resources and their international trade relations—think of gaining their independence? The question arises here: Will the American empire also vanish?

Second: If Russia is accepted as a member of NATO, in its capacity as a European country, will this result in tipping the balance in Europe's favor, and, consequently, lead to the independence of European decisionmaking at the expense of American decisionmaking and policy? What will be the reaction of the United States, which has ambitions to become the world's policeman, teacher, priest, and banker, despite the fact that these roles are contradictory? Consequently, the question arises as to the nature of political relations between Europe and America, and on the possibilities resulting from the European-American balance of power. The coming months or years will answer these questions.

Third: What would the situation would be like if riots were to take place in the former Soviet Union? These riots might turn into a civil war. Such events are taking place now. How will the independent republics solve their problems with regard to important issues, such as nuclear weapons and their control; their naval fleets, particularly the nuclear submarines, and their control; and the strategic factories distributed throughout these republics by the former Soviet government.

Will the millions of Russians in Kazakhstan or the Ukrainians in Uzbekistan be moved to their own respective republics, or will they stay where they are, where they represent one quarter or more of the population in these republics? Therefore, the problems of population distribution—whether people remain where they are or they are transferred—will produce complicated legal, social, and economic problems that carry with them the danger of an explosion at any moment in the near future. This will certainly threaten world security and peace.

Fourth: What would the situation would be like if a military coup was to take place, if some people stood against it, and the if the Army was split into loyalists and opponents of the coup?

Fifth: There is the possibility that China might move to benefit from the events in the Soviet Union and the reasons for its collapse by embarking on economic, legal, political, and social reforms to shape up the Marxist-Leninist theory in a way that would give it a modern face. China will then embrace and inherit the theory. The rule is that you do not die from a heart attack at once, but attempts to survive continue, even through artificial respiration. So the Marxist-Leninist theory will survive with China. Will history be repeated once again with the existence of two contradictory theories? What will the situation be like then?

Sixth: We notice the emergence of reactions that might have no connection with these events, with what happened in the Arab region, or with what took place during and after the Iraqi-American war. If we look carefully at things, however, we will find that developments in the Arab region, particularly the religious tide in the Arab countries in Northern Africa and the achievements of the Islamic forces in Algeria and Jordan, are the results of reactions to what took place in the region during the Iraqi-American war and the new world order. This tide might move quickly to other states of the Arab Maghreb, to Egypt, and even to the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria. What will the situation in our region be like as a result of this fact, which we have reservations about and which we fear.

The sources:

—The writings of Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal.

—Reports and studies by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal following his visit to Moscow in early 1990.

—A LOS ANGELES TIMES interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev.

—Raisa Gorbachev's memoirs, *My Hope*.

—Former USSR President Gorbachev's resignation speech.

—The Perestroyka and the Third World Conference.

Further Leaders' Comments on Loan Guarantees

Shamir Assesses U.S. Talks

TA3001195092 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by Yoram Ronen in Jerusalem on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] [Ronen] Mr. Prime Minister, in your address to the Bonds Conference here tonight, you said we would not use a single dollar from the loan guarantees for settlement. Do you think such a declaration will satisfy the U.S. Administration?

[Shamir] I think it should. We will talk with them and find out if does.

[Ronen] At this stage, however, according to all the reports from Washington, the granting of the loan guarantees is linked to settlements.

[Shamir] As we know, we are holding talks with them, and will continue to do so. Nevertheless, I hope that we will find some area for agreement.

[Ronen] According to the latest reports today, there are 9,000 building starts in the territories. The Americans will let us complete this construction but then they will ask us at least to slow down.

[Shamir] Those reports are incomplete, inaccurate. We have to wait to see how the talks end. I hope we will reach a satisfactory agreement.

[Ronen] Is the United States ready to meet us half way?

[Shamir] There is a certain readiness.

[Ronen] Mr. Prime Minister, it has almost definitely been agreed on that the elections will be held on 23 June. Do you approve of that date or did you want them to be held later?

[Shamir] I was the one who suggested that date. [Jerusalem Israel Television in Hebrew at 1900 GMT on 30 January reports that "the Labor Party Secretariat tonight approved the 23 June as the date for the Knesset elections as proposed yesterday by the Likud."]

[Ronen] You did not want the elections at a later date?

[Shamir] It does not really matter if they are held a week earlier or later. I understand that date more or less suits everybody.

[Ronen] Is that date good for the Likud?

[Shamir] Certainly.

[Ronen] Mr. Prime Minister, will it resolve some problems in the Likud Central Committee, which will not have to convene in a different setup to elect its Knesset candidates?

[Shamir] There are some problems. I believe we will overcome them.

[Ronen] When do you think it will be possible to present the Likud candidate for prime minister and candidates for the next Knesset?

[Shamir] I believe that will be possible in the very near future.

Loans Only for Absorption Purposes

TA3101054492 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir says that while Israel is trying to talk peace in Washington, Arab terrorist organizations continue to attack innocent Israelis. Speaking last night to the Israel Bonds conference in Jerusalem, the prime minister also said funds Israel obtains through loan guarantees will be used to house new immigrants and not for building settlements. Miryam Herschlag reports:

[Begin recording] [Herschlag] Prime Minister Shamir told the 300 leaders from the International Israel Bonds that Americans should know Israel was not asking the United States for money but for guarantees that would not cost the U.S. taxpayer anything. He said there was no connection between the guarantees and settlements in the territories.

[Shamir] The funds we shall obtain through the loan will be devoted only and entirely to the purpose of absorbing the olim [new immigrants] and not for building settlements.

[Herschlag] The prime minister said some progress had been made at the Moscow peace talks, but he maintained there is no real evidence the Arabs want to end the conflict with Israel.

[Shamir] We are consistently emphasizing the need for peace and coexistence, while the Arabs are concerned primarily with territorial demands. We are seeking direct channels of communication with them between the formal meetings. They insist on talking to us only by way of the big powers. We want to hold the peace talks right here in the region itself, and they want to distance the peace negotiations far from their people. We are trying to talk peace in Washington, but here, in our own country, the Arab terrorist organizations continue to attack innocent Israelis wherever they can, and especially on our roads.

[Herschlag] Shamir also referred to the 800,000 Jewish refugees who fled Arab countries, leaving property behind. As for the 4,500 Jews remaining in Syria:

[Shamir] We call on the Syrian Government to let our people go! [applause] [end recording]

Arens Disappointed Over U.S. Position

TA3001164592 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Defense Minister Moshe Arens today said that the issue of settlements will be discussed in the negotiations with the Arabs. Therefore, he added, there is no need for the United States to make the issuance of the loan guarantees conditional on a freeze in settlements.

The Arabs, he asserted, are trying to make the new immigrants the hostages of the peace process. 'Idan Miller heard the defense minister.

[Begin recording] [Miller] Appearing before 300 Israel Bonds delegates today, Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that he could not contemplate the possibility of the United States' refusing to help in the absorption of Jews from the Commonwealth of Independent States. We are disappointed that the request that we submitted to Washington on the matter has still not been endorsed and that receiving the guarantees has been linked to a halt in settlements. Arens expressed the hope that both parties will reach agreement within a week or two and resolve the crisis.

[Arens] We have heard statements by Arab representatives who threatened to cancel their participation in the peace process if the United States gives Israel the loan guarantees for the absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Therefore, it is manifestly clear that these spokesmen are seeking to make the immigrants hostages to force Israel to accept their conditions.

[Miller] The settlement issue, Arens said, will be discussed in negotiations. This question is currently on the negotiating table. The position adopted by the United States does not help but rather hinders the peace process. The defense minister expressed satisfaction with the multilateral talks, which ended in Moscow yesterday, but stressed that the danger of war has not disappeared and that peace is still only a remote dream. [end recording]

Shoval Comments on Meeting With Baker

TA2501054592 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker last night offered a compromise on settlement in the territories, as part of a deal on Israel's request for $10 billion in loan guarantees. This is reported by Qol Yisra'el's Washington correspondent 'Oded Ben-'Ami.

He quotes an American source as saying that at a meeting with Ambassador Zalman Shoval in Washington last night, Baker proposed that Israel complete the building already under way in the territories, but there would no additional construction.

An Israeli source told our correspondent that it was clear that any argument with the administration would not be on the amount of the loan guarantees, only on the settlement issue. Israel would explain to the Americans that it would be impossible to set long-term targets for immigrant absorption without a clear budget.

Israel's request for $10 billion in loan guarantees was discussed yesterday in Washington. After the two-hour-long meeting, Ambassador Shoval said the two would meet again after Baker returned next weekend from a visit to Moscow and other European capitals. Shoval described the talk as constructive. He said Baker had told him that the Administration was fully committed to the principle of helping Israel in the humanitarian task of absorbing up to 1 million new immigrants.

Olmert on Proposal for Loan Guarantees

TA2501115092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0900 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Telephone interview with Health Minister Ehud Olmert by 'Adi Talmor on the weekly "In the Current Situation" program—live]

[Text] [Talmor] Good morning, Minister Olmert.

[Olmert] Good morning.

[Talmor] One could say that the Israeli Government is facing a tough but not surprising decision. What will the government decide?

[Olmert] I think you are jumping the gun a bit. Of course, I am not in a position to say what we will decide, nor do I know exactly what was said yesterday and what was proposed. I am totally dependent on the reports in the media at this stage. I must therefore be very careful in my assessments. I can only say that you are right that the U.S. condition—if the condition is indeed as reported—is no surprise. Also, I think one can say that the condition—as presented, I stress, by the media—is a very difficult one. Moreover, I must add that the U.S. position as presented does not rule out continued discussions on the issue. I consider this the start of a dialogue between Israel and the United States, the start of negotiations. I believe there are many issues that can be discussed. I would definitely advise against any hasty rejection of the proposal. We clearly cannot accept the condition as such; however, there is room for negotiating, and I believe that such talks will indeed be held. It is still too early to predict whether they will fail.

[Talmor] We understand that there is a time limit. Apparently, a decision must be made soon.

[Olmert] Look, I have not received the impression that this must be decided within a few days. The matter must be discussed. Many issues are at stake. After all, if we do not get the loan guarantees, our resources for building in Judaea and Samaria will be very limited. We must consider the pros and cons of each alternative. If we are talking about principles, then the American position is not completely unequivocal. Their very readiness to accept the start of construction, which aroused the utmost fury and led to the most vehement accusations just a few months ago, constitutes a victory for the Israeli

position, which insisted on continuing to build in Judaea and Samaria. Issues should be viewed in their wider context. If we continue to build in Judaea and Samaria, I believe that by this proposal, the United States is abandoning the principle—hitherto presented as a sine qua non—that it is impossible to hold peace negotiations while building continues in Judaea and Samaria. I am not saying that this is enough, I am not saying we have to accept it. I am only saying there is certainly some leeway for negotiation here. We will negotiate with the administration. If we can negotiate with Syria, we can certainly do the same with Baker. After all, we are talking about a country that is friendly to Israel, and all we are talking about is the possibility of the United States giving us $10 billion in loan guarantees. So we are not exactly being punished. We have been given an extremely difficult condition, which is unacceptable to us in its present form, but which I believe can be argued about.

[Talmor] At least you prefer to see the cup as half full, rather than half empty?

[Olmert] I do not know if the cup is half full. That expression may not apply. I think we have a basis for negotiation. Israel is holding some strong cards. We must remember one thing that I constantly stress because of its psychological importance. Several months ago, every building start, every additional caravan or structure, was said to be destroying the chances for peace and successful negotiations. The same President Bush who said all those things before is now saying: You can continue with what you have already started—in other words with what you started yesterday and the day before—even while peace talks are going on, and nothing bad will happen. That is very significant. It is not enough, as far as we are concerned, but it proves there is a basis for discussion.

[Talmor] So, Mr. Olmert, is there a chance, at least in your view, that the government will publicly and officially refuse to halt settlement activity, but will actually stop them and get the guarantees?

[Olmert] You assume that the wording of the proposal we received is sacrosanct and that Israel must either accept it or kiss the guarantees goodbye. I am proposing another alternative. I am saying that all parties should avoid unnecessary slogans and boastful declarations at this stage. In the diplomatic arena, and especially in sensitive situations, it is better to examine the facts. I would once more like to stress that my reaction is only based on radio reports and that I am not familiar with all the nuances, which can occasionally be very important. We will talk to the Americans and examine all the details. Our final answer will be based on a careful scrutiny of the facts. At this stage, I would not propose publicly stating one thing while doing another. We may very well eventually agree that not all our expectations can be fulfilled, but that enough of them can be realized so that we can reach an agreement with the Americans and receive this aid, which is most necessary for immigrant absorption. One must bear in mind that with such aid we could absorb hundreds of thousands of immigrants more efficiently and more easily, consequently, leading to a upsurge in immigration. All this is of tremendous importance. It is wrong to portray the situation as though there is a harsh U.S. demand on the one hand and minor issues on the other. Indeed, the United States has made a difficult condition, but we could also receive massive aid for the absorption of hundreds of thousands of Jews. We all know how difficult the situation is and how much must be done. I think if we can find a formula—and I am not sure we can—that would enable us to continue building Eretz Yisra'el while absorbing immigrants at the same time, then we should try.

[Talmor] Thank you, Minister Olmert.

Qatzav on Political Significance

TA2701183092 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 27 Jan 92

[By Yo'av Aviv]

[Text] During a tour of Haifa today, Transportation Minister Moshe Qatzav said that Israel needs the loan guarantees despite declining immigration. He said the cabinet has discussed the issue and decided to insist on the request for U.S. guarantees.

[Begin Qatzav recording] After discussing the issue, it was decided that Israel definitely needs the guarantees. What we are discussing with the United States is not the need, the volume, or the economic significance of loan guarantees, but rather the political significance, the link between the guarantees and the Israeli Government's policies. There should not be any linkage between these two things. The United States is absolutely free to decide, but we must not renounce our own policy by accepting an American dictate as part of economic aid. [end recording]

The minister does not think the dialogue with the Americans is humiliating for Israel:

[Begin Qatzav recording] The United States is our best friend, and we are not waging a struggle against the United States. We have submitted our request, and the United States may deliberate and decide what it will. The ties between the United States and Israel are very friendly, but it is only natural that we should not modify our request in any way in the wake of any pressure.

More on 1991 Investment, Housing in Settlements

TA2601115792 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 26 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by Marit Gilat]

[Text] Over 1.85 billion shekels were funneled into the territories in 1991 for construction and investment in industry and agriculture, according to data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS].

The number of housing units whose construction or placement began in 1991 in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza is estimated at 11,190, almost double the number of 1990. About 20 percent of all the investments approved last year and about half the budget of the Zionist Federation's Settlement Department were funneled into the territories.

The Treasury is currently working feverishly to process the data pertaining to the government's expenditures in the territories in 1991 at the request of the U.S. Administration. The Treasury's data will be comprehensive and include roads, health and education, tax deductions to residents of the territories, and so forth.

The CBS data shows that up to the end of September 1991 construction had begun on 5,435 apartments in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: 905 by private companies and 4,530 by public companies. Assuming that construction continued at the same pace in the fourth quarter of the year, the number of housing starts in the territories totaled 7,255 in 1991, 6,050 of them as part of the Construction and Housing Ministry's program.

In addition to the permanent housing, 1,600 mobile homes and 1,350 trailers (rather than a total of 5,565 mobile homes and trailers reported last week) were brought to the territories in the first three quarters of 1991. Assuming that the placement of such homes continued at the same pace from October through December 1991, 2,133 mobile homes and 1,800 trailers would have been placed in the territories by the end of the year. That means a total of 11,190 housing units were started in the territories in 1991, compared to 5,640 in 1990.

In 1991 alone the government funneled 1.3 billion shekels for construction into the territories, of which over 1 billion shekels was for permanent housing. This figure is based on data released by the economic ministries in Jerusalem, which show the cost of housing in the territories to be 180,000 shekels for an apartment, 70,000 shekels for a trailer, and 40,000 shekels for a mobile home.

As for the government's promotion of private investment in industries in the territories, in 1991 the Industry and Trade Ministry approved 275 million shekels for the establishment and expansion of factories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Seeing that the territories are considered Type A development areas in the context of the law on promotion of capital investment, 38 percent of those investments (110 million shekels) was pledged as government grants. This sum represents 20 percent of all investments throughout Israel approved by the Investment Center in 1991. It should be pointed out that the number of investments ultimately carried out is unknown.

In addition, the government invested some 10 million shekels in industrial infrastructure and 55 million shekels in agriculture in the territories last year.

Sharon Refuses To Confirm 10,000 Housing Starts

TA2601123692 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1005 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Report by Shmu'el Tal]

[Text] It appears that today only two bodies have accurate data on the number of housing starts in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip: the Construction and Housing Ministry, which is doing the building; and the U.S. Administration, which is continuously photographing the area from satellites, from helicopters, and from the ground.

Minister Sharon briefed the Knesset on the number of housing starts several months ago. According to Sharon there were 13,500 housing starts between 1 April 1990 and the day he presented his report. Meanwhile, however, work has been finished on several thousand of those units, and the construction of new ones has begun.

In the recent period, taking different scenarios into account, a great effort has been made to expedite housing starts in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and generous resources have been allocated to that end. Today the Construction and Housing Ministry declined to confirm officially the figure we quoted, which amounts to approximately 10,000 housing starts on the ground right now. Those are the housing starts referred to in the U.S. proposal. In addition to this, the Construction and Housing Ministry has stationed about 4,500 mobile homes and trailers in the area. There are approximately 140 settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. Extrapolations based on the accepted data show that if all the housing starts and mobile homes are completed and inhabited, another 50,000 people could settle in the territories.

Further Reportage, Comment on Moscow Talks

Levi 'Pleased' With Results

TA3001180192 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Foreign Minister David Levi returned from his visits to China and Moscow a short time ago and expressed satisfaction with the talks and the relations formed between Israel and India, but protested the reception France gave George Habash. Minister Levi's remarks were made at Ben-Gurion Airport, and Dan Eshel reports from there:

[Begin recording] [Eshel] David Levi said there was good reason to be pleased about the multilateral talks in Moscow.

[Levi] We transmitted our message, and the principle on which the peace process is based was upheld. The Palestinians tried once again tc play cute, to change the rules of the games, as they did in Washington. They did not succeed. We made it absolutely clear that we are loyal to the agreements, and the cosponsors—the United States

and Russia—made it clear that they would not permit any diversion, and that is what happened. The Palestinians decided not to participate. That is their business. It is a pity. I hope that in the long run they will wise up and understand that a peace process is not a matter of zigzagging, of taking offense, or of presenting dictates to the world to make it panic, or of pressuring Israel.

[Eshel] The talk with the U.S. secretary of state, Levi said, did not touch on the loan guarantees, but was good. When asked about the possibility that he might run for prime minister, Minister Levi replied: No comment. Are the election dates mentioned acceptable to you, Levi was asked.

[Levi] Whatever my movement decides on elections is acceptable to me, of course. What action to take is an internal matter. I can say diplomatically that internal matters are best left alone until the outcome is known.

[Eshel] The foreign minister sharply protested the reception France extended to George Habash. He said such a reception is a slap in the face to all those who fight terrorism and does not add to French honor.

The minister welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations with India. He said the Indians initially recommended setting up a representation in Bombay in the first stage. I replied, Levi said, that Israel does not accept half of something, but wants the whole thing. [end recording]

Talks Focus on Confidence-Building

TA3001162792 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] The Defense Ministry director general said that the discussions in the working groups on arms control at the Moscow conference had agreed to discuss ways to build mutual trust in the region. He said there is no intention of dealing with disarmament in the forthcoming meetings but rather with confidence-building. He said that achieving regional security will be a protracted process. David 'Ivri said that the next meeting of the working group will be in Washington in two months. He made the remarks to military correspondents on his return from Moscow.

Bank Governor on Economic Proposals

TA3101084092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Upon his return from the multilateral talks in Moscow, Bank of Israel Governor Ya'aqov Frenkel said that in the economic discussions there was absolutely no atmosphere of confrontation between the Israelis and the representatives of the Arab countries. Professor Frenkel proposed linking up the electricity grids of all the countries in the region and establishing a joint road network. Our economic affairs correspondent Yaron Kulas spoke with Mr. Frenkel:

[Begin recording] [Kulas] Twenty-nine countries from five continents sent their representatives to the multilateral conference on economic cooperation and development. The representatives of the EC, the United States, Japan, Turkey, and other countries wishing to take part in the region's economic process proposed a series of projects, from free trade zones in the Middle East to the development of road, water, and agriculture systems.

Bank of Israel Governor Ya'aqov Frenkel, speaking for Israel, proposed linking up the electricity grids of all the countries in the region, helping in the development of solar energy, and establishing regional medical centers.

[Frenkel] When the Arab countries' turn came, they repeatedly claimed that in the absence of Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians, it is too early to determine the list of projects and specific issues for the working groups. This claim was reiterated in the working groups. The bottom line, as far as they were concerned, was that not every party that should have been represented was indeed present in the room.

[Kulas] All the parties realize that any progress in the multilateral talks depends on making progress in the bilateral negotiations between Israel and its neighbors. Prof. Frenkel believes that there are quite a few projects that could be implemented, with projects in the agricultural sphere offering the most benefit for the region.

[Frenkel] In this field, Israel of course has an excellent record. We have scored great achievements that have won international acclaim.

[Kulas] Israel proposed cooperation in the area of agricultural crops in arid and semiarid regions and various irrigation techniques. The Arab representatives—Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, and the North African countries—listened but preferred to neither react nor directly address the proposals. Prof. Frenkel said that the atmosphere at the talks was not hostile.

[Frenkel] There was no atmosphere of confrontation. We did not attack each other. No slogans were aired, and no political issues were put on the table.

[Kulas] The multilateral economic discussions will be renewed in mid-May in Brussels. [end recording]

Arens on Arms Sales, Corruption

TA2801154992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Defense Minister Moshe Arens has said that the importance Israel attaches to the question of arms control, currently being discussed in Moscow, was evident in the decision to send David 'Ivri, the director general of the Defense Ministry, to Moscow. Our correspondent Ze'ev Kohen reports that Minister Arens, addressing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, said most participants in the talks—the PRC, Russia, Britain, and France—are arms suppliers, and that if they decided

to reduce their arms sales or do away with them altogether, progress could be made.

As for the Arrow's development, the defense minister said that cooperation continues with the United States, and its representatives are now in Israel.

Referring to the corruption scandals in the defense establishment, Arens said that although those are obvious anomalies, they are intolerable.

Arens on Possible Nuclear Proliferation

TA2901165192 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Defense Minister Moshe Arens said Syria's absence from the Moscow talks does not bode well. He expressed the hope that this does not mean it does not want peace. In an interview with our army affairs correspondent Karmela Menashe, the defense minister said Israel is preparing itself for the possibility of a Middle East with nuclear weapons, and that the IDF's [Israel Defense Forces] work plan takes that threat into account.

As for the arms control discussions at the Moscow talks, Arens stressed that they did not deal with the supervision of the weapons in Israel's possession, but rather with processes that would lead to a slowdown of the arms race in the region.

Arens Criticizes Palestinian Boycott

TA2901150392 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1400 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] A short time ago Defense Minister Moshe Arens commented on the possibility that the negotiations with the Palestinians may come to an end, in view of their failure to participate in the Moscow talks. Our correspondent Ge'ula Even reports:

[Begin Arens recording] If the talks blow up, responsibility will lie with the perpetrators; that is, with the Palestinian representatives who are apparently unwilling to follow the rules agreed on by all, including them. As for the regional topics being discussed at the multilateral negotiations, they can be discussed without the participation of the Palestinians. The countries of the region are those that should be represented. [end recording]

Levi 'Astonished' at Hospitalization of Habash

LD3001185792 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1800 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] There is a first official reaction in Israel, an extremely strong one by Foreign Affairs Minister David Levi interviewed by our correspondent in Jerusalem, Pierre Weil:

[Begin Levi recording] I am astonished to see how France offers what I may call hospitality to the leader of one of the cruelest terrorist groups. He is a doctor, an eye doctor whose sight is impaired by his hatred toward Israel.

It is inconceivable to speak with Israel of peace as we spoke with Mr. Dumas here, and at the same time receive the leader of a terrorist group which is against peace. It is a policy that one finds impossible to explain and makes no sense. I do not think this honors he who has decided to offer such hospitality to a terrorist. We have seen this happen before: Hospitality to such people has not yielded anything good to those who gave entry into their homes in such a way.

Finally, it was they who paid the price, and I do not wish to remind anyone of Khomeyni and that France gave him asylum. [end recording]

No Request To Extradite Habash

TA3101122392 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Our correspondent Mira 'Amsalem reports that Attorney General Yosef Harish has not been asked to examine any request for the extradition of George Habash to Israel.

In Jerusalem, a delegation of Palestinians went to the French Consulate and submitted a protest on the way Habash is being treated in Paris.

Embassy To File Official Protest

TA3101143392 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1400 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Israel will file an official protest with France for allowing the entrance to its territory of George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports that Foreign Minister David Levi and Foreign Ministry Director General Yosef Hadas issued the above instruction to Yitzhaq Eldan, charge d'affairs in Israel's Embassy in Paris.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Barukh Bina told our political correspondent that authorized persons in Israel are considering a possibility to ask for Habash's extradition to Israel on several charges of murder.

Our correspondent in Paris Gid'on Kouts reports that outgoing Ambassador in France 'Ovadya Sofer, who is currently on a short visit in Paris, has suggested to Foreign Minister Levi that Israel demand the extradition.

Ben-Elisar on Operations Against Arms Suppliers

TA2801054992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] The chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Eliyahu Ben-Elisar, has revealed

that Israel is operating against arms suppliers and companies which aided Iraq and which are now providing arms to Iran. Ben-Elisar said the State of Israel cannot stand by idly to the new threat posed by what he termed the death merchants. Speaking to a Qol Yisra'el reporter, Ben-Elisar added: Israel is concerned that Iran is following the path of what the world witnessed in Iraq.

Probe of U.S. Military Aid Causes Apprehension

TA2601101792 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 26 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Arye Arad]

[Excerpts] There is growing apprehension in Israeli industry about the discovery of borderline, or even deviant, misuse of U.S. military aid. There is an impression that this apprehension may be the main reason for Israel's reluctance to cooperate in the investigation of scandals such as the Rami Dotan affair. [passage omitted]

Industry circles say that Israel uses more U.S. funds than permitted to finance purchases from Israeli military industries. As a rule, all the aid should be used to finance the purchases from U.S. industries. At one point, however, the Americans allowed Israel to convert $250 million into shekels to finance the Lavi's development. When the project was terminated, the Americans agreed to raise that sum to $400 million. The equivalent in shekels was supposed to be used for research and development in Israel's military industries.

The sources claim, however, that Israel has resorted to borderline—or more than that at times—circular deals to bypass the requirement to purchase U.S.-made items only. The method used is to set up subsidiaries of Israeli firms in the United States or to cooperate with genuine U.S. firms. The Defense Ministry solicits bids for a certain item manufactured in Israel. Various U.S. companies present their bids, and the company cooperating with Israel is chosen. The latter buys most of the components from an Israeli firm, and brings them to the United States. The U.S. firm adds a few marginal components made locally, assembles the final product, and supplies it to Israel according to the specifications of the tender. [passage omitted]

Replying to DAVAR's question, Dani Nave, the defense minister's media adviser, said Israel has nothing to hide concerning the use of U.S. military aid. It has neither in the past nor at present deviated from the rules governing the use of those funds. Israel has given the United States all the information in its possession, Nave stressed. Nevertheless, when the interrogation of Israeli citizens is involved, Israel insists on certain minimal rules acceptable in relations between sovereign countries. In Nave's opinion, there is no reason for the Americans to be upset.

Other Israeli sources stressed: "The Americans are not lily-white either. Dotan could not have stolen without the cooperation of senior General Electric executives, and the Mazlat company, which manufactured the unmanned aerial vehicles, could not have bribed anybody unless there was a senior administration official willing to accept kickbacks."

Confirming that "indeed, this is one of the directions of the U.S. investigation," a senior U.S. source added: "We had better not make too much of a fuss, because we are not completely in the clear either." He refused to elaborate.

The main fear in Israeli industry is that the Americans may now impose more restrictions on the use of the military aid in view of the difficulties U.S. military industries are facing. Consequently, Israeli industries could have less work. They fear this will adversely affect employment in general, and research and development personnel in particular, and will increase the brain drain from Israel.

Arens Notes Possibility of Free Elections in Gaza

TA2401123492 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 24 Jan 92 p A5

[Report by Eytan Rabin]

[Text] In a meeting last week, Defense Minister Moshe Arens surprised the members of the Gaza Chamber of Commerce when he told them that if the establishment of an appointed municipal council in Gaza fails, free municipal elections may be held.

In the meeting, the members of the Chamber of Commerce raised economic issues, such as economic development and tax collection, as well as political issues. The members, headed by Chairman Mahmud al-Qidwiya [name as published], called on Arens to stop the deportations and allow more benefits for the Palestinians.

When the issue of the establishment of an appointed council came up (a defense establishment idea which has recently been encountering difficulties), Arens said that it is very important that the Palestinians manage their own affairs and that if the process of appointing the municipality on their own falls through, free elections may be held. The Palestinian representatives did not answer Arens, saying that this matter requires some thought.

The defense establishment recently formulated a proposal to set up an appointed city council for Gaza. Attorney Fayiz Abu-Rahmah expressed his willingness to head it, but it became apparent that despite the fact that most of the Gaza organizations expressed willingness to take part in such a council, differences of opinions between Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and other movements concerning the council's functions emerged, now making its very establishment doubtful.

Defense establishment and Palestinian sources who attended the meeting told HA'ARETZ that this was the first time that Minister Arens publicly stated that he is

willing to accept a free election process in Gaza. Senior Palestinian sources in Gaza believe that in the end, no appointed council will be established and they will accept the offer to hold elections.

The defense establishment no longer fears free elections in the Gaza Strip, after elections to the Camber of Commerce last year were democratic, and in view of the fact that the elected functionaries, to the surprise of many, are working in cooperation with the Civil Administration. The defense establishment today believes that if independent elections are held in a democratic fashion, there is no fear that extremist organizations, such as Hamas, will take over. It also believes that if free elections are held in Gaza, the Civil Administration will supervise them.

National Bloc Wins Engineers Election

TA2401181792 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Arabic 1730 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] The victory of the National Bloc in the elections of the Engineers Association in the Gaza Strip was announced a while ago. This bloc won five of nine seats that form the association's board of directors. The Islamic Bloc won the other four seats. Our correspondent Yoni Ben-Menahem reports that the members of the general assembly of the Engineers Association will choose the association's chairman tonight. Engineers 'Aqil Matar from the National Bloc and Jamal al-Khudari from the Islamic bloc are competing for this post. It is worth noting that the Islamic Bloc had won the previous elections held two years ago. More than 700 engineers from all parts of the Gaza Strip participated in today's elections which were held in Gaza's al-Azhar College.

Group Vows To Attack PLO Members in Territories

TA2801175092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Report by Udi Segal, correspondent in the territories]

[Text] An organization calling itself Hashmona'im [Hasmonaeans] has assumed responsibility for shots fired last night near the home of Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj. Frayj is a member of the Palestinian delegation, but he has not gone to the Moscow talks.

The incident occurred at about 0100 this morning. Several shots were fired at a house adjacent to that of Frayj, presumably as a result of mistaken identity. The shots hit the outer walls, shattering a window. Searches yielded two bullets. The police have launched an investigation.

During the night, a beeper service received an announcement saying that Hashmona'im organization members were responsible for the shooting. In the morning, a man phoned IDF Radio newsroom in Jerusalem and identified himself as a member of the organization. He said that Hashmona'im are the Maccabee faction of the committee for road security founded by Kakh. Committee chairman Tiran Pollack said his organization had had nothing to do with the shooting.

The anonymous caller said that Hashmona'im intends to attack PLO members in the territories and recommended that they flee their homes.

Elements close to Kakh have said that the organization is made up of Samaria settlers.

None of the above information has been confirmed by any other source.

More on Radical Organizations

TA3001125492 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 30 Jan 92 p 9

[Report by Doron Me'iri]

[Text] In the past 24 hours, the Shin Bet and the police have intensified the supervision and surveillance of the extreme right-wing organization calling itself "Hashmona'im," whose members fired at the home of Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj on Tuesday night. Relying on outside information, security elements believe that the Hashmona'im organization plans to carry out additional radical actions against Arabs in the territories in the near future, in a bid to disrupt the peace process and retaliate for attacks perpetrated by Arabs in recent weeks against Jews in Judaea and Samaria.

Yesterday, the following details about the organization calling itself Hashmona'im were learned: According to security elements, this is a fanatical right-wing body that has embraced a more radical outlook than that of the Kakh movement. The organization is composed of only some 10 to 15 members, all of whom are believed to be settlers, mainly from the Judaea District. They possess firearms, assault rifles, submachine guns, and handguns. They have permits for most of their firearms, which they use for self-defense.

The security services and the police have known about the organization's existence for several months, and the organization has been under surveillance. Information received by these bodies reveals that the organization is half secular and half religious and that some of its members are affiliated with the Kakh movement. Security elements believe that contrary to the Jewish underground, which included IDF [Israel Defense Forces] officers and reserves soldiers, the Hashmona'im organization is composed mainly of activists who constitute fringe elements of the extreme right wing and who lack a security or military background. Some of them may not have served in the IDF at all.

In the meantime, the security forces are also continuing to follow up on the activities of the Herev Gid'on [Gideon's Sword] organization, another extreme right-wing body that appeared in Samaria a few months ago. It is estimated that this organization comprises some 25 members, mostly residents of the settlements of Yizhar,

'Eli, Ma'ale Levona, and Kfar Tapuah; the latter is the stronghold of the Kahane Hay [Kahane Lives] movement in Samaria. Most of the members of this organization, too, are equipped with licensed firearms.

Several months ago, the organization threatened to retaliate for the murder of Jews in the territories by shooting Arabs, but it has so far settled for writing slogans in Arab villages in Samaria and threatening Arabs.

One member of the organization described fellow members as "idealists and messianic crusaders, who are not followers of Kahane, but who hold radical right-wing views." He did not believe Herev Gid'on has any connection to the Kakh movement.

'Auspicious Hour' Project Extended to Tulkarm

TA3101121592 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 p A5

[Report by Eytan Rabin]

[Excerpt] A decision to include Tulkarm in the Auspicious Hour project initiated by Defense Minister Moshe Arens, under which the Civil Administration and the body in charge of day-to-day security matters will be merged in one body, was made in a debate at the office of Major General Amnon Shahaq, the deputy chief of staff, with the participation of senior Central Command officers and defense establishment figures.

Senior army sources said that the decision to extend the project follows its success in Qalqilyah. They added that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] is working on implementing the decision in Tulkarm.

The participants in the discussion at Gen. Shahaq's office were divided on the question of whether the responsibility for the Tulkarm project would be borne by a military or a Civil Administration element. The defense minister and the chief of staff have not decided the issue as yet.

According to military sources, it was agreed that, as recommended by Central Command Commander Dani Yatom, a military element will be in charge of the Qalqilyah project. The Qalqilyah project director will therefore be subordinate to the military governor, who is in turn subordinate to the brigade commander.

It is believed in the Central Command that despite the disagreements, the Tulkarm project will also come under the brigade commander's responsibility.

IDF elements noted that the merging of commands under the Auspicious Hour project will enhance constructive cooperation between IDF bodies, the Civil Administration, and the residents. They added that if the project proves itself in Tulkarm, it will be implemented in other districts in the territories. [passage omitted]

Ofeq-3 Satellite To Be Launched 'Soon'

TA3101110492 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 31 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Avi Bnayahu]

[Excerpt] Israel is completing the final preparations for the launch of the Ofeq-3 satellite, scheduled to take place soon. In the wake of Ofeq-3, additional, more advanced satellites will be developed and launched in the future.

Ofeq-3 will be carried into space by a Shavit missile, and it will be able to stay in space for two to three years. The Ofeq-1 and Ofeq-2 remained only a few months in space and did not have photographic capability.

The Ofeq-3 will orbit further out in space and encounter less atmospheric friction. The satellite will orbit the earth every 90 minutes. In the future, Israel plans to send three satellites into space in order to receive information about specific points at about 30-minute intervals.

The Israeli satellite development began several years ago, but the vital need for a satellite became acute during the Gulf war. The development and manufacture of Ofeq-3 is the first stage toward a future satellite, which is included in the IDF's [Israel's Defense Forces] multiannual work plan and which was given higher priority after the Gulf crisis erupted in August 1990. [passage omitted]

Winter Rains To Reduce Water Deficit

TA2501142092 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1000 GMT 25 Jan 92

[Text] Israel's water deficit will be reduced by approximately 20 percent this winter. This was the estimate made by the water commissioner, Professor Zaslawsky, to our correspondent Ya'aqov Balsenboim.

The water commissioner noted that the water deficit had stood at approximately 2 billion cubic meters, while it is assumed that about 400 million cubic meters will be added to the water system this winter.

At the beginning of March, the Water Commission will reevaluate its policy of water quotas for agriculture.

Spokesman Cites 'Major Gains' at Moscow Talks

JN3101085692 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 31 Jan 92 pp 1, 15

[Excerpt] Amman-PETRA—Dr. Fayiz al-Tarawinah, official spokesman for the Jordanian delegation to the multilateral negotiations in Moscow, has described the outcome of the first round as positive, helping the Arab cause make three major gains despite Israel's intransigence.

Al-Tarawinah was speaking to the JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY upon the delegation's return to Amman last night at the conclusion of the two-day Moscow meeting. The first Arab gain, he explained, was securing the participation of the Palestinian delegation in its new configuration as proposed by the Palestinian side during the meetings of the five conference committees and working groups, which will open toward the end of April or early in May. According to the new configuration, the Palestinian delegation will include representatives from Jerusalem and the diaspora, in addition to representatives from the West Bank and Gaza.

The second achievement, added al-Tarawinah, was the fact that all participants in the conference, save Israel, agreed to invite the United Nations and its bodies to participate in the work of the conference's main committees.

It was agreed to extend an official invitation to the United Nations to send representatives to the working groups, he said.

Al-Tarawinah said that Israel tried but failed to maintain the formula of the Madrid peace conference, which excludes the United Nations. The Jordanian delegation proposed participation of the international organization in the conference, and this was approved.

Explaining the third gain, Dr. al-Tarawinah said that the participants, aside from Israel, stressed that the multilateral talks are not a substitute for the bilateral talks, but complementary to them. They linked progress in the bilaterals and a serious continuation of the multilaterals. [passage omitted]

Talks Offer 'Golden Opportunity'

JN2901181992 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 92 p 1

[Editorial: "The Palestine Question Is the Major Factor at the Moscow Conference"]

[Text] The Palestine question was given due attention yesterday by the delegations of the most influential countries to the grand international gathering at the Moscow multilateral conference. Despite the Palestinian delegation's absence from the opening session, the Palestine question, which is the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was a major factor that could not be ignored. Therefore, Jordan's speech as delivered by Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir demanded serious, persistent work to solve this crucial issue, stressing that there can be no just peace in the region without solving it in a just manner that restores to the Palestinian people their national rights and occupied territories.

Moreover, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker proposed the formation of a Palestinian delegation from inside and outside the occupied territories, to secure a Palestinian presence at the conference and in the committees emanating from it.

The issue of Palestinian refugees also enjoyed the attention of a number of participating delegations. Under the insistence of the Jordanian delegation, it was decided to add this issue to the conference's agenda. Very briefly, there was clear concentration on the Palestine question by most participating delegations.

Therefore, the Israeli response to the U.S. secretary's proposal, to form a Palestinian delegation from inside and outside the occupied territories, was nervous and frenzied.

In the speeches delivered by the participating delegations, particularly the U.S. delegation, concentration on UN resolutions was noticeable. This calls for hope and optimism. Furthermore, insistence on solving regional issues was evident.

What draws attention is that the participating Arab delegations, particularly the Jordanian delegation, were successful in addressing all aspects of the Palestine issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict. They were also successful in stressing their desire to achieve peace and ensure the success of the negotiations.

We stress the need to activate coordination among all the Arab delegations. These delegations are required to participate in the committees emanating from the conference, armed with unified positions vis-a-vis the various topics and issues listed on the agenda. These issues are crucial and more important than the differences among them.

The Moscow conference may be a golden opportunity for an Arab meeting as a prelude to reviving and activating joint Arab action. Wasting this opportunity may be a large and very serious loss for the Arabs.

'Uncertain Outcome' of Talks Noted

JN3001182492 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 30 Jan 92 pp 1, 20

[Editorial: "A Look at the Results of the Moscow Conference"]

[Text] We do not know whether the cosponsors of the peace process will view the results of the multilateral conference with the same level of hope placed in the third and last stage of the peace process. We say this while seeing all this distortion and confusion, and noting the uncertain outcome of this conference. On the first day of the conference there was a speech rally, and on the

second day, there was a single procedural meeting held by the subcommittees stemming from the conference.

The weakness in the results of the Moscow conference is well represented by the formation of subcommittees, some of which did not meet in the presence of all their members, and by the fact that the meetings of these subcommittees ended without any remarkable outcome. The weakness of the results of the Moscow conference is also represented by the date set for the coming meetings of these committees; these committees will meet after several months in capitals that are far away from each other. In addition, no mechanism for the work of these committees has been defined and no agreement regarding linkage between the committees and the conference has been reached.

Not allowing the Palestinian delegation to attend the Moscow conference—under the pressure of Israeli dictates—was a negative mark on the face of this conference. Forty states from the various continents were invited to this conference, while the real owners of the cause were not allowed to the spacious hall of the conference in response to Israel's rejectionist stand—the stand which seems to receive more rewards and appeasements when it shows increased amounts of rejection, stubbornness, arrogance, and conceit.

A look at the compromise proposed by the cosponsors of the peace process, with regard to the Palestinian representation and the fierce Israeli stand on this solution, which entails ambiguity and lukewarmness, will show that the diplomatic efforts exerted since the beginning of the peace process still fear engagement with the Israeli stand, which continues to challenge the logic of the peace process, and at the same time, receives rewards and appeasement to encourage it to show more extremism and procrastination.

Even though we do not want to see the Moscow conference end with these weak results or see Israel increasing its hegemony and control over the peace process, we cannot close our eyes when we see one of the cosponsors losing its shadow in the conference, the other cosponsor not assuming its responsibilities as a force that wants to render the peace process a success, some major and other parties kept away from the conference, and while the United Nations is being ignored. Meanwhile, many of those invited came to the conference not aware of the roles they would be playing within the framework of this ambiguous and uncertain process.

Al-Sharif on Moscow Talks, Arab Relations

PM2901113792 London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 25-26 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Jordanian Information Minister Mahmud al-Sharif by Mahmud Ma'ruf in Marrakech; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Ma'ruf] You are going to the Moscow talks while there are differences with other Arab sides. How do you view that?

[Al-Sharif] The peaceful or diplomatic solution to the Arab-Zionist conflict set three stages, or let us say three circuits: First, an opening conference in Madrid. Second, direct talks between the parties to the conflict, and this has begun. The third circuit is the formulation, together with a large section of world states, of a joint overview of a new Middle East in the event of the existence of peace in the region—which means that the overview is to be implemented after, not before, peace. The circuits might meet, influence, and strengthen one another: The Madrid conference paved the way for the Washington talks, which were active and crystallized the Moscow talks. So the peace process is integrated and its elements are interlinked, not separated.

Until this moment, our view in Jordan is that, following the long steps which the Arabs have taken along the road to peace, it is in their interests not to stop at one station and announce their refusal to continue following the road. [passage omitted]

We are experiencing a new international situation—I would not call it a new world order—after the collapse of one of the two superpowers and the emergence of Europe as a group of states heading toward total unification, We Arabs cannot live outside history's framework. We should be inside it. It is a situation in which distances between the peoples have decreased and their interests have intermingled. It is a world based on mutual reliance, and our role inside that framework should go beyond supplying oil and guarding waterways to contribute to the civilization of today's world—a role which is required of and imposed upon us by virtue of our history, culture, and great civilization, which influenced human thinking in one of history's stages.

All these reasons prompt us to go to Moscow, because that which is going to be held there is not a conference but a meeting which is not intended to sign agreements or treaties, a meeting between a group of states to draw up a dream and a view of a new Middle East, which can only be realized by establishing an honorable and fair peace that can bring justice to the Palestinian people, respond to Arab wishes, and comply with international laws. [passage omitted]

[Ma'ruf] You went to Madrid and Washington after coordination with the Arab sides which are directly concerned: Syria, Lebanon, and the PLO. But you are now going to Moscow without coordination.

[Al-Sharif] Actually there was no coordination before Madrid or Washington. Or the coordination was not at the level we had wanted. Before Madrid, the foreign ministers met for consultation in Damascus. But coordination on the scale you are talking about still does not exist, neither at heads of state level nor at ministerial level. There has not been constant and regular coordination, nor has a mechanism been developed to which the

parties concerned can refer. There is talk, not coordination. This does not mean that we are in favor of noncoordination or that we are satisfied with this situation. [passage omitted]

[Ma'ruf] Can the disagreement over attending the Moscow conference lead to weakening Arab positions in the bilateral talks?

[Al-Sharif] If we respect logic, reason, the spirit of brotherhood, and mutual trust, I do not think that the Arab position will weaken. And I stress that the importance of the Moscow conference should not be exaggerated.

[Ma'ruf] The Syrian foreign minister told us that any Arab who goes to the Moscow conference would be serving the Israeli scheme?

[Al-Sharif] He is responsible for what he says, and I have no comment to make on the statement by the brother Syrian minister. We understand the position of the brothers in Syria and respect their opinion. Differing views do not eliminate amity and will not affect our brotherhood, solidarity, and cooperation. The Moscow topic does not need or justify such an analysis. Nor will there be any great pan-Arab harm if one state goes to Moscow and another decides not to. Every team has its own view and analysis, and the other teams' views and analyses should be respected. Our political position is governed by a set of circumstances. They might be imposed on us and not on Syria, or vice versa. Each side builds its position on the basis of its own calculations. [passage omitted]

[Ma'ruf] Did you determine your position in coordination with the PLO?

[Al-Sharif] There was coordination with the brothers in the PLO.

[Ma'ruf] Can His Majesty King Husayn's visit to the Sultanate of Oman be regarded as a breach of the Gulf siege on Jordan?

[Al-Sharif] I do not interpret it as a penetration. His majesty was on a visit to Brunei and on his way back he wanted to stop over in Muscat to see Sultan Qabus, to whom he is bound by a special and close relationship. So his majesty the sultan insisted that his majesty the king stay more than one day to hold talks.

This is what happened. It is not a breach or evasion, but rather a strengthening of relations that have always been warm. These relations remained close even during the Gulf sedition period.

[Ma'ruf] What about current relations with the other Gulf Cooperation Council states?

[Al-Sharif] Regrettably, relations are not satisfactory and are going through a phase of coolness. We hope that the spirit of Arab solidarity will overcome the effects of the Gulf tragedy. This is because we live in a world that is heading toward unification and grouping, and we do not wish our Arab nation the fate of the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia.

We admit that a tragedy took place and people differed. But our nation is alive and capable of surmounting that predicament and building a new Arab position that transcends the tragedy that occurred. [passage omitted]

[Ma'ruf] And your relations with Egypt are still lukewarm.

[Al-Sharif] True, they are still affected by coolness. And although messages and telephone calls have been exchanged, relations have still not reached the level we want, because we harbor every respect, amity, and love toward Egypt and its president, government, and people. Perhaps the matter requires some time, and patience is one of the means to resolve the crisis. [passage omitted]

Syrian Ties Should Expand 'Despite Differences'

JN3101085092 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 31 Jan 92 pp 1, 16

[By Musa Hawamidah in Amman]

[Text] 'Abd-al-Karim al-Kabariti, labor minister and acting foreign minister, received in his office at the Foreign Ministry Thursday morning Syrian Ambassador in Amman Majid Abu-Salih. They reviewed bilateral relations and the latest developments in the peace process.

After the meeting, Mr. al-Kabariti told AL-DUSTUR that Jordanian-Syrian relations are special and distinguished, and that they should be constantly promoted despite some differences.

He called for continued coordination between the two countries and for joint meetings at the leadership's level to lay down a working plan binding to all Arab parties to the peace process, with a view toward consolidating the strategic goal of peace.

Mr. al-Kabariti added: Coordination should be achieved at the level of the Higher Jordanian-Syrian Joint Committee in order to define the general framework of the desired strategic goal—namely, a just and comprehensive peace, which both Syrian and Jordan agree is the objective of the current peace talks.

In another development, Mr. al-Kabariti has received separately Mrs. Caren Suwada [name as published], Australian member of parliament representing the Australian Democrats, and the British ambassdor in Amman.

Islamic, Constitutional Blocs Confer With DFLP

JN2901105592 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 29 Jan 92 p 3

[Text] Amman—PETRA—A number of Islamic Movement representatives met at the Movement's office yesterday with a delegation from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], headed by its Secretary General Nayif Hawatimah.

Developments of the Palestine question and the peace conference were reviewed during the meeting. Means of bilateral cooperation and ways of maintaining the intifadah and bolstering the steadfastness of the kinfolk in the West Bank were also discussed.

The Constitutional Bloc in the House of Representatives also met with Hawatimah and some DFLP members yesterday. Deputy Dr. Fawzi al-Tu'aymah, official spokesman for the Constitutional Bloc, said that a number of important issues, headed by the peace negotiations and the required full coordination and unification of Arab stances at this critical and delicate stage in the nation's life were discussed.

The two sides called for serious Arab coordination and reconciliation at this stage as these play an important role in reinforcing the Arab position and securing the minimum degree of Arab solidarity in the peace negotiations.

Dr. al-Tu'aymah said that Hawatimah proposed an initiative for Arab conciliation. This initiative is based on an inter-Arab reconciliation document to be prepared by the Arab parliaments, and on removing hurdles that exist among the Arab countries and calling for Arab solidarity. The initiative also calls for a meeting of the Arab leaders in order to ensure the minimum level of joint Arab action.

Al-Hirawi on 'Serious' Financial, Economic State

NC3101084492 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0515 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] President Ilyas al-Hirawi drew the attention of the deputies who visited him last night to the serious financial and economic situation and stressed the need to cut spending.

Some deputies cited President al-Hirawi as saying that the state debt has reached about 2.5 trillion Lebanese pounds. If we add the 1991 budget's outstanding obligations, the figure goes up to 3 billion pounds [as heard]. The external debt amounts to approximately $600 million and our assets in the Bank of Lebanon do not exceed $1 billion.

He added: We hoped that aid would come, but we have not yet received one cent. I do not believe we will receive anything at this stage or in the foreseeable future.

Lahd Forces Detaining Youths in Security Strip

NC3001100392 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1230 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Our correspondent in the south has learned that the occupation forces and Lahd militias have carried out detention campaigns in villages in the occupied strip, looking for young men wanted for compulsory military service. People coming from the occupied strip say that 45 youths from Bint Jubayl were arrested and forced to join the militias.

Lahd militia radio said that one Lahd soldier was killed and eight others injured when a grenade went off accidentally inside a militia headquarters in the center of the occupied strip. Our correspondent learned that the incident occurred when a bomb exploded as Lahd militias shelled the al-Litani River valley from positions in al-Shumariyah last night.

Lahd and Israeli occupation forces told international emergency agencies, the Marj 'Uyun district commissioner, and internal security forces that they have lifted the siege of Haris, Kafra, Yatar, and Haddathah. Reports say schools reopened today and normal activity has resumed.

Hizballah Presents Lahd Deserters at News Briefing

NC3101085892 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Hizballah held a news conference yesterday at which it presented three of Agent Lahd's militiamen, who deserted recently in response to the call the Islamic Resistance addressed to all deluded persons to desert and join the resistance. A Hizballah brother who presented the three deserters said that the Zionist acts of aggression, which are recurring daily and in which Israel is clearly involved, confirm that the entire country is open to attack and cannot enjoy real security as long as the enemy is attacking every day and fomenting internal problems by exploiting weaknesses.

The brother added that as the enemy intensified its acts of aggression, the Islamic Resistance was lying in wait for him. The resistance confronted the enemy's attempt to advance toward Sribbin last week and warned the agents that it can reach them wherever they are; the security zone they are hiding behind will not protect them. The Islamic Resistance, which has honored its pledge to embrace the truly repentant, today renews its call, stressing its commitment to what it declared earlier, and presents three of those who were deluded: Amin Hammud, 'Ali Hammud, and 'Ali Jhini.

The three deserters spoke about their sufferings and the pressures the agents in Lahd's army exerted on them. They said that at the first opportunity, they surrendered themselves to the Islamic Resistance.

At the end of the news conference, the Islamic Resistance reminded the agents that the path to repentance is still open. It pledged to our brothers in the occupied strip that it will not abandon resistance until all land is liberated.

Israeli Official Says Resolution 425 'Superseded'

NC3101073792 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 0430 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] We begin our review of recent local developments with the south where the radio of Lahd's militia yesterday cited an Israeli official as saying that Resolution 425 has been superseded by regional developments and that it cannot be regarded as a basis for any agreement or negotiations between Lebanon and Israel.

The Israeli official, who was not identified, said that the Lebanese Army's deployment in the operations area of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon [UNIFIL] replaces Resolution 425.

UNIFIL spokesman Timor Goksel has stated that, by deploying in the south, the Lebanese Army has proved that it is capable of carrying out any task it is assigned. He indicated that UNIFIL is in the process of drawing up a new map for its redeployment.

Lebanese, Palestinian Parties Condemn Moscow Talks

NC3001173392 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The Lebanese national and Islamic parties and forces and the Palestinian revolution groups have held an expanded meeting at the Fatah office in Mar Ilyas camp [in Beirut]. They discussed the proceedings of the Moscow talks and their serious effects on the future of the Palestinian cause and the Arab nation's interests.

The conferees released a statement which condemned participation in the multilateral Moscow talks and the PLO's position, which is a cover and umbrella for participation by certain Arab regimes in these negotiations.

Hizballah Radio Warns Against Jews in 'Arab Garb'

NC3001112092 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Station commentary: "We Are Not Refugees"]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. The Palestinian and Arab cause has been losing ground in Madrid, Washington, and Moscow. The Arab ambassadors stand around like orphans at the feast of the wicked [Arab proverb]. During several rounds of so-called initial and later bilateral negotiations, the Zionist enemy achieved its objectives even before the negotiations began. In the beginning there were U.S. conditions, promises, and commitments. The Palestinians were denied an independent delegation and the Arabs did not try to formulate a collective position on this issue. The Palestinian delegation waited in the U.S. State Department corridors but was not allowed to enter a negotiating hall. Its members waited in the corridors on the sidelines of the Jewish-U.S. celebration at which toasts of diplomatic victory were exchanged following the Desert Storm military victory.

History has no mercy on the weak. It is basically made by the powerful and written in their mendacious ink. This cannot be confronted politically by crying and complaining and waiting for consultations outside phone booths at hotels all over the world as Faysal al-Husayni and Hanan 'Ashrawi do. Ambassadors, advisers, and men of intellectual, legal, historical, and diplomatic expertise assembled to argue the case against Jewish usurpation. But they were confronting it inside its home in Washington and they are now inside its home in Moscow. The Jews always had the initiative, even in connection with seating arrangements and the order of speaking. Add to this preconditions and maneuvers ad nauseam; there was always a procedural problem over the venue and date of the next meeting. Time was constantly wasted to avoid addressing substantive issues.

Now comes the U.S. initiative's third stage. Now is the time to reap the penultimate fruit the Zionist enemy craves. The Jewish view of the substance of the conference is fulfilled. As we commented before, the conference is a Middle East peace conference. The Middle East is a U.S. term for the Arab, Islamic region that was specially coined to include the Jewish usurping entity. The Middle East includes secular, semi-European states like Turkey. It includes the Gulf, Iran, part of Africa, and the area southeast of the Indian Ocean. The Middle East has a median location with regard to the Far East, the Indian subcontinent, and China. Hence the U.S.-Jewish question is a Masonic ceremony at which the resources and wealth of a geographical region that has no original name or history are divided according to military power and political influence. This arrangement takes no account of the relative size of populations on the grounds that residents of this Middle East do not have equal rights, duties, and standards. Among them is a group belonging to the chosen people, the Jews, who possess the attributes of reason, war, technology, and nuclear weapons. They should not in any way be equated with the others, even those who own the land, the oil, the waters, the resources, the history, and superior numbers.

In this way, the enemy obtained what it wanted and all countries assembled to attend the ceremony anointing the Jewish element as ruler, possessor, and master of the region it had entered as a foreign usurping invader and a thief by international standards.

According to this perspective there is no such thing as a Palestinian issue, occupied territories, Palestine, a First Qibla, and a Prophet's night journey to heaven [reference to Jerusalem].

Secretary Baker's acceptance of Palestinian presence in the Moscow conference's refugee committee is not a matter of decorum but rather shows exaggerated ridicule for our rights, history, and the sanctities of this displaced nation whose politicians have accepted such humiliation and disdain. When we say its politicians, we do not mean this nation's actual leadership. We believe that the actual leader is the oppressed Muslim Palestinian people. We believe that the intifadah, its children, and stones are the true historic leaders at this stage.

Hence we tell all those meeting in Moscow—the new den of Zionist influence: No, gentlemen, we are not refugees. We never will be. Behold our land. It speaks Arabic. Our very stones shout God is Great. They declare that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His Messenger. Perhaps there is benefit in what has happened. Syria adopted a neutral stance and its wise leadership acted in the manner we expected. Lebanon, meanwhile, is continuing its heroic resistance. Algeria, although now preoccupied with its internal crisis, is waiting for the right time. In the near future, God willing, it will give the thundering Islamic response to the conference of treason and shame just as Islamic Iran's revolution was the historic response and divine compensation for the Camp David accords and our loss of Egypt.

God, may He be praised, will not abandon Muhammad's nation to the mercy of a corrupt group in Muhammad's land that is led by Jews dressed in Wahhabite [reference to Saudi form of Islam], Arab garb. These people's treasonous stance did not take us by surprise. They remain, as always, the source of all calamity.

Islamic Amal Leader on Moscow Talks, Rshaf

NC3001141292 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 29 Jan 92 p 4

[Text] Husayn al-Musawi, official in charge of the Islamic Amal Movement, has described the negotiations in Moscow as "a market in which the Arabs are selling out their dignity, holy places, land, and water for nothing."

At his weekly koranic seminar in al-Nabi Shit, al-Musawi lauded the "Syrian stand, which refused to take part in the deal which is destroying Arab and Islamic generations' hopes."

Referring to Algeria, the Islamic Amal leader said: "We cannot imagine that there are people who can confront the surging Islamic trend in Algeria." He called for "supporting the democracy which the United States and its agents have confiscated. He also urged the Muslims and Arabs to support the Libyan people regardless of the position of al-Qadhdhafi, who seized our Imam al-Sadr and his companions and who should return them to us irrespective of the circumstances."

Al-Musawi criticized "the Lebanese state's timid stand" on Rshaf. He urged "the honorable people to support the Islamic resistance, which alone can safeguard our dignity and rights and regain our land."

The Islamic Amal leader called for taking a firm and preventative stand against "the Lebanese Forces' gang which is operating in the enemy's service, because any indifference to their treason, plot, and hostile media campaigns would constitute a real danger for Lebanon's unity, stability, and sovereignty."

Al-Nabatiyah Army Barracks, University Shelled

NC2901145692 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1400 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Israeli occupation forces shelled the town of al-Nabatiyah this afternoon. Several shells reportedly fell on a Lebanese Army barracks and one landed near Lebanese University.

Bomb Hits Israel-SLA Patrol; Israelis Retaliate

NC3101090292 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The Islamic Resistance detonated an explosive device as a joint mechanized patrol made up of a Zionist enemy force and agents was passing on 'Alman road in the south yesterday, killing or wounding the patrol members. Immediately afterward, the occupation forces shelled the area of the operation and carried out an indiscriminate combing campaign.

Israeli Forces Shell Central Sector

NC3101093492 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 0900 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The Israeli occupation forces shelled (Wadi al-Hujayr) in the Central Sector and Qa'qa'iyat al-Jisr areas last night. At the same time, Lahd's agents opened fire at the Sribbin-Yatar-Haris triangle from their post in Rshaf. Bursts of gunfire were directed at a site near the Italian contingent center.

German Impoundment of Tank Shipment Criticized

JN3101063392 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 0518 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Ghassan Abu-Hamad dispatch from Berlin]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A source close to the Syrian Embassy in Bonn has told our radio that the 16 T-72 tanks shipped on the Godewind were put on board at the Polish port of Szczecin with the knowledge of the Czechoslovak and Polish authorities, and that this shipment is part of 300 tanks Syria had officially purchased from Czechoslovakia with funding by several Arab countries. This is a well-known fact and there is nothing secret about it.

The source close to the Syrian Embassy in Bonn said that the Godewind stopped in the free zone at Hamburg Port, but did not load anything from Germany because shipments are banned by law. The vessel was not compelled to obtain the approval of German customs because it was in the free zone of the Hamburg Port. The source said that the tanks were shipped before the issuance of the new foreign trade law which bans the shipment of weapons on German vessles, and which the German Parliament passed four days ago. The source added: The German authorities could have prevented the vessel from leaving and could have ascertained what it carried on board without there being the need for these stupid theatrics. After it was allowed to leave, they followed it, and impounded it in this flamboyant manner, implying that the deal was illegal.

The source close to the Syrian Embassy in Bonn did not rule out that these theatrics had something to do with the issue of the illegal smuggling of weapons to Israel carried out by the Israeli Mosad and the German BND two months ago without the knowledge of the German political circles.

Moscow Talks 'Gross Violation' of UN Resolutions

JN3001170692 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] As expected, the multilateral Moscow talks have ended in failure, with the only thing to show for them being a decision to convene meetings of working groups in world capitals, but without setting exact dates. The talks flopped because the key players—Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians—stayed away, not so much to protest skirting core issues as to salvage the peace process itself.

Israel went out of its way to torpedo the bilateral talks in Madrid and Washington, when, at the behest of the Shamir government, its negotiating team could not be drawn into addressing substantial issues and the fundamentals of the Arab-Zionist conflict. The Israeli delegation frittered away time and efforts by raising procedural matters not remotely connected with the peace process, and dodging such requirements of peace as recognition of Palestinian rights and the need to evacuate occupied Arab territory. All the patience and flexibility demonstrated by the Arabs to secure Israeli acceptance of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and the land-for-peace formula, went down the drain. Not that this is surprising, given assertions by the enemy prime minister before, during, and after the talks that the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights shall remain forever part of the so-called land of Israel, and shall be home to hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews now being transferred to occupied Palestine in a massive airlift.

The Moscow multilateral talks provided Israel with a unique opportunity to mislead world public opinion and drag the Arabs into laying the groundwork for Arab-Israeli cooperation, whereby the core issue is blurred and Israel is left to reap considerable benefits. It is, therefore, not surprising that Israel should pronounce itself extremely satisfied with the Moscow talks, even if these have not produced tangible results. Israel regarded Arab attendance at the Moscow talks as de facto recognition of its right to exist and a display of a readiness to establish economic cooperation to boost its fortunes and help its drive to dominate the region. The Israelis seem to have a strategy in place, and to have mapped out a series of economic- and water-based cooperation plans. Indeed, at the Washington talks, they failed to utter a single word about arrangements for executing UN resolutions calling for their withdrawal from occupied Arab land and recognition of Palestinian rights. Even at the Moscow round, the Israelis—hell-bent on disregarding the Palestinian people, their rights and identity—rejected any kind of representation for Palestinians in the diaspora and Jerusalem.

In the meantime, the Israelis were busy excavating in southern Lebanon to prepare water sources in the region for Jewish settlements, all at the expense of the Lebanese.

Without a doubt, the boycott of the Moscow talks by Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians has gone a long way toward hampering Israel's plan to gloss over the fundamental issues of the Arab-Zionist conflict and to mislead world public opinion. Ideally, the so-called regional cooperation must be the end result of peace, and Israel has no interest in peace, but with every passing day presses ahead with raising the temperature in the region by building further settlements and sending Jewish immigrants to settle occupied Arab territory, where they commit all kinds of abuses of Arab rights—burning Arab homes and cars, destroying their crops, plugging their wells, shooting at them, and spreading terror and fear among the Arab population.

The delegations attending the Moscow sessions have singled out peace as a prerequisite for any meaningful cooperation in the Middle East. The Israeli delegation did not utter a single word to suggest that they are willing to be bound by the requirements of peace. Their utterances did not go beyond a rude invitation for the Arabs

to avail themselves of the Zionist entity's expertise and start joint projects that would, in effect, promote Israel's drive to control the region's resources.

Syria, the Lebanese, and the Palestinians have made known their compliance with a comprehensive and equitable peace predicated on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the land-for-peace formula. They went to Madrid and Washington and unavailingly sought to talk with the Israeli negotiators about matters of substance and to find a fair solution to the regional conflict. However, they hit the brick wall of Zionist naysaying and determination to persist in occupation, expansion, settlement, and denial of Palestinian rights. It is natural, therefore, that they should stay away from the Moscow talks, and it is also natural that they receive universal, popular Arab support, since Arab masses see in these sessions a buckling under to Zionist schemes and an abdication of rights and territory, as well as a retreat from the components of an equitable, comprehensive, and durable peace for which the region and the world yearn. Indeed, the Moscow sessions amount to encouragement for continued Zionist aggression and a gross violation of UN resolutions and the will of the world body that was also absent from the multilateral talks.

Peace requires, above all, Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories and recognition of the Palestinians, and short of these two basic conditions, there can be no peace and certainly no cooperation. There will be no shift in Syria's position, pending a clearly expressed Israeli pledge to submit to international legitimacy and the UN resolutions.

Commentaries Score Outcome of Multilateral Talks

Moscow Talks Gave Israel 'Further Rewards'

JN3001091192 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0445 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Press review]

[Text] Under the headline "Israel Perpetrates Aggression and Receives a Reward," AL-BA'TH reaffirms that the world gave Israel what it failed to give to any other party or regime, and allowed Zionism what it did not allow any international body. The paper notes that Israel, over the years, perpetrated all types of crime. It says: The United Nations has been proven impotent in the face of Israel's rejection—even the rejection of the international organization itself. UN absence from the peace efforts and conferences is a vivid example that Israel is stronger than the United Nations. AL-BA'TH blames the big powers for this, because these powers are the decisionmakers concerning international issues. The paper urges the big powers to stop supporting Israel.

AL-BATH goes on to say: The Moscow conference, which was described by some parties as the international conference sought by the Arabs, is not really an international conference, because the parties to the conflict in the region are not represented in it, and because the United Nations, which is supposed to patronize the conference, was not allowed, at Israel's desire, to do so.

AL-BA'TH stresses that Syria seeks a just peace that ensures the integrity of international legitimacy. The paper holds Israel responsible for the lack of peace and concludes: During the Madrid conference and Washington negotiations, we tangibly sensed that Israel wanted the Arabs to surrender, and the world to be a witness. We, therefore, found nothing in the Moscow meeting other than approval of the aggression and evasion of commitment to international resolutions, which call for a peace based on returning rights and ending the aggression.

For its part, AL-THAWRAH discusses the same subject in two articles. Under the headline "Why Reward Israel?" the paper says: It is really strange that despite all Israel's intransigent and provocative positions and its disdain for UN resolutions and the will of international legitimacy, there were attempts to give Israel further rewards. This encouraged Israel to proceed with its policy and positions, which conflict with the most fundamental conditions and requirements of peace. The latest such reward, says AL-THAWRAH, was the multilateral conference in Moscow, which is meant to bypass the peace process.

The paper says: The world community in general, and the United States in particular, were expected to rush to defend the principles of global legitimacy and UN resolutions, and to take the necessary measures to curb Israel's defiance of the will of peace. However, we regrettably note that there are attempts to appease Israel and to provide it with whatever helps its procrastination and evasion of any commitment to withdraw from the Arabs' lands and to recognize their rights.

Referring to reports that the U.S. Administration is not opposed to the completion of 112 new settlement units in the occupied Arab territories, AL-THAWRAH calls on the U.S. Administration not to turn a blind eye to Israel's settlement activity and leave Israel build as many settlements as it wishes. This, the paper says, would shake confidence in U.S. pledges and make peace a difficult and complicated issue, if not a hopeless case.

In its other article, AL-THAWRAH poses several questions concerning the Arab position toward the peace issue. It calls on the Arabs to achieve unity, coordination, and solidarity. Concluding, the paper asks: Who will counter the state of division and fragmentation? And how can it be done? Is going to Moscow the way to do it? Certainly not, and this is the bitter point.

Boycott Rendered Talks 'Empty'

JN2901094992 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0445 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Press review]

[Text] Under the headline "Reward for the Enemy," TISHRIN says that the Tel Aviv rulers, who foiled the Madrid and Washington talks, and who, since 1947, have been refusing to implement a single UN resolution, have jumped on the bandwagon of the multilateral talks in an exposed attempt to acquit themselves of all the horrible crimes they perpetrated, and are still perpetrating, against the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular, and to drag the Arabs into the trap of normalization under continued aggression and occupation.

If Israel's rulers are really looking forward to living peacefully with the Arabs and to establishing cooperation, the paper says, then, naturally, they will have to remove the causes of the raging conflict in the region and publicly declare their true and sincere readiness to implement Security Council resolutions, to exchange land for peace, and to recognize Palestinian rights.

TISHRIN concludes: By the common consent of world observers, the absence of Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians from the Moscow talks has rendered these talks empty. Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians have not attended because holding the multilateral talks under the shadow of Israel's rejection of Palestinian rights and of withdrawal from the occupied territories constitute a reward for the aggressor, encouraging it to go far in defying the world community and its resolutions and conventions, and to reject the just peace to which the world aspires.

For its part, AL-THAWRAH says that the opening session of the multilateral talks in Moscow yesterday showed, yet again, that Israel is not concerned about the search for a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question. In his speech during the session, the foreign minister of the Zionist enemy never referred to any of the main foundations of peace in the region, especially the land-for-peace formula, on which all relevant UN resolutions are based.

The paper adds: The multilateral talks, being the third phase of the Middle East peace conference, should not have been opened before the second phase laid down a practical formula for peace in the region or made progress in this respect, as stipulated by world legitimacy, especially Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Noting that the Moscow talks were organized upon Israel's request and for its aggressive and expansionist purposes at the expense of Arab rights, the paper stresses that Syria's refusal to participate in the talks reflected its principled pan-Arab commitment not to relinquish any Arab right, especially those related to the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and to the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

In another article, AL-THAWRAH says what is currently taking place in Moscow is a real forgery and an attempt to distort, dwarf, and liquidate the Arab-Israeli conflict and bypass the basics of peace. After noting that the Moscow talks were held with the absence of the United Nations and the main Arab parties to the conflict, the paper says: We emphasize that we, in Syria, will continue to adhere to our constants and sacred principles, and to cling to the obvious and shining pan-Arab right; we will never budge from our positions.

AL-BA'TH, for its part, says: It is only natural for observers to expect the Moscow talks to be pointless. The talks had a bad start yesterday, as all political and media observers noted. Topics on the agenda of this phase of the peace process cannot be discussed seriously while basic issues—not only more important but at the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict since the emergence of Palestine question—remain unsolved. It was for a solution to the Palestine question that the peace process was launched in Madrid.

AL-BA'TH adds: The talks in Madrid and later in Washington failed to deal with the essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict except for the Syrian delegation's objective and substantiated argument, which exposed the fallacy of Israel's allegations. Israel therefore, began to procrastinate, maneuver, and evade the discussion; its aim was to reach the third phase. Concluding, AL-BA'TH says: The more the Arabs realize these looming dangers, the better they can protect their rights, and, at the same time, the more world respect and support they win, which will result in applying the strongest possible pressure on Israel to force it to comply with world legitimacy and to observe the resolutions aimed at achieving peace. Anything other than this will remain illusions, and will not come true.

'No Sign' Israel Ready for Peace

JN2901184392 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1242 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] Gentlemen: Political observers and analysts have been unanimous in agreeing that the Moscow multilateral talks have not achieved their objectives given the absence of the major parties—Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians. This is because regional cooperation comes as a result of a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in the Middle East. There is no sign at all of the Israeli rulers' readiness to achieve a just peace sought by the Arabs and the entire world.

The speech delivered by enemy Foreign Minister David Levi affirms the determination of Israel's rulers to bypass the facts and realities, and ignore the causes of the conflict which has raged in the region for more than 40 years. Levi ignored the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, particularly their right to self-determination. He also ignored the issue of withdrawal from the occupied territory. He did not note at all, the Israeli rulers' readiness to discuss substantive issues, to comply with the Security Council resolutions, or to exchange land for peace. In fact, he deemed the River Jordan the natural border of the tyrant Zionist state, thereby, underscoring the expansionist settlement course. Levi spoke about the

fall of 100,000 people as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 80 percent of whom were Arabs, forgetting that those killed were the victims of Israel's aggressive and expansionist wars; that more than 2.5 million Palestinians were expelled from their homeland and are living in camps that lack the basic comforts of normal life; that the rest of the Palestinians, whether in the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem, or even in Israel itself, are being exposed to organized brutal repression, planned annihilation, and premeditated eviction; and that the enemy government has armed the settlers and charged them with the mission of spreading a climate of terrorism and fear in the occupied territory to force a mass emigration of Arabs.

Over the past three years, the enemy government brought in approximately half a million Jewish immigrants from the former USSR; it prepared plans to bring in another 1 million immigrants this year. It also announced to the world that those people have a right to settle in the occupied Arab territory, or the so-called land of Israel. What cooperation is Levi and the Israeli rulers speaking about while the Palestinian people, land, and identity are being targeted, and while Zionist extremists openly call for expelling the Arabs collectively and for annexing their lands to the usurper Zionist entity?

Many foreign ministers, who spoke at the Moscow meeting, were unanimous in the belief that a just and comprehensive peace is the basis of any future cooperation in the region. Have the rulers of Israel listened to the voice of reason and logic? Not at all. They spoke about cooperation with the aim of deceiving world public opinion and portraying cooperation as if it is the basis of the problem. This is despite the fact that occupation, aggression, expansion, settlements, and depriving the Palestinian people of their simple legitimate rights are—in everybody's view—the core of the Arab-Zionist conflict. The fact is that the Israeli rulers' talk about cooperation only aims at concealing the basic issue and spreading Zionist economic hegemony over the region by sharing Arab wealth, resources, and potential. Thus, Israel will have achieved more than one objective at the same time: It will entrench its occupation of the Arab territories, it will make the Arabs recognize the legitimacy of its usurpation of Palestine, Golan, and southern Lebanon, and it will recruit them—under the slogan of cooperation—to play a part in its economic hegemony plans.

Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians boycott the multilateral talks in Moscow, because the Madrid and Washington talks have revealed to the entire world Israel's false peace claims. Its negotiating delegation evaded discussion on substantial issues and insisted on refusing to discuss ways of implementing Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and exchanging land for peace. The Israeli delegation did not show any readiness to comply with the will of international legitimacy, lay down a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and to contribute to the efforts aimed at saving this region, which is vital to the whole world, from the whirlpool of wars, explosions, and tension.

In light of this perception, any talk about cooperation is ultimately a reward to the Israeli aggressor and an encouragement to continue its occupation and aggression. This also is a call for the Arabs to relinquish their rights and future. Syria is not the one that relinquishes territory or rights. It will continue to struggle to achieve rights and justice, end the Zionist occupation, restore the Palestinian people's rights and the occupied territory, and achieve a just peace sought by the international community.

Ba'th's al-Ahmar, Cuban Envoy View Peace Process

JN2901162592 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1215 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, this morning received Jose Ramon Fernandez, Cuban vice president of the Council of Ministers, and his delegation. The meeting was attended by the Cuban ambassador in Damascus.

Discussion centered on relations between the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the Communist Party of Cuba, in addition to a number of executive measures that would help bolster these relations within the framework of the cooperation program between the two friendly parties.

The officials' talks also centered on the developments and changes in the world arena; the Middle East peace process and the Arabs' desire for a just and comprehensive peace that would restore the occupied Arab land and the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people; and Israel's anti-peace policy, its obstructive role in the peace process, and the world's responsibility in this regard.

Comrade al-Ahmar reviewed these developments while stressing Syria's principled and consistent positions in dealing with them under the leadership of struggler leader President Hafiz al-Asad. He noted that Syria did not participate in the multilateral negotiations in Moscow because they constitute a reward for Israel, at a time when the peace talks in Madrid and Washington have attained no results toward achieving a just and comprehensive peace because of Israel's intransigent position, which rejects withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

Comrade al-Ahmar stressed that Syria wants peace, that it is sincere about attaining it, and that it will not relinquish or bargain on Arab land and rights.

For his part, Fernandez highly valued Syria's position and principled policy under the leadership of President Hafiz al-Asad. He also praised relations between Cuba

and Syria, and said that they are longstanding and constantly developing. [passage omitted]

Editorial Critical of UN Meeting on 'New World'

JN3101070192 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0445 GMT 31 Jan 92

[From the press review]

[Text] In its editorial today, AL-BA'TH talks about the summit which will convene under the banner of the UN Security Council to discuss the form of the new world following the end of the cold war. The paper says: The quest for the aspired world comes at the time when the pictures were changed, but the mentality that prevailed after World War II still dominates and continues to impose its hegemony and decide on things.

AL-BA'TH points out that this summit, which will discuss the arms race and development, will not touch on Israel, which is armed with all kinds of nuclear, neutron [as heard], and conventional weapons because Israel constitutes an advanced regiment of their armies against the Arabs and their ambitions, and because the source for the advanced and destructive weapons which Israel possess is known, and is the same gateway through which the advocators of the new world claim they will enter into the aspired world.

AL-BA'TH says: From the beginning, we have said we support a new form and mentality for a world that supports the causes of security, freedom, and peace. The paper asserts: Today, as we await the outcome of the UN Security Council summit, we can only hope to enter into a new world that would guarantee rights for their rightful owners and punish the aggressor for his aggression, and a world that does not bargain over the resolutions and the charters that give the United Nations its effective and practical role to deal with the hotbeds of tension on equal terms and from a single perspective.

Afghanistan

President Ready for Improved Ties With Pakistan

BK3001155492 Hong Kong AFP in English 1518 GMT 30 Jan 92

[By Anosh Ahamath]

[Text] Kabul, Jan 30 (AFP)—President Najibollah said Thursday that Kabul was ready to improve ties with Islamabad, which backs the Afghan resistance, and urged Afghan rebels not to miss an opportunity for peace. He also hinted that mojahedin extremists should be ignored if they laid down conditions for attending an intra-Afghan dialogue which the United Nations hopes to convene in the next two months.

"All Afghans should come aboard the peace train. They (the mojahedin) should not isolate themselves by avoiding this great opportunity. In our view many forces and a wide range of forces should take part in this process," Najibollah told AFP in an interview.

United Nations Secretary General Butrus Ghali has called for an early convening of the U.N. proposed intra-Afghan dialogue and has sent his personal envoy Benon Sevn to the region to speed up the peace process.

Najibollah, in his first response to Pakistan's backing this week for the U.N. peace plan, said in the interview that the condition laid by the mojahedin—that he resign before they agree to participate—was "a pretext for a few for the protraction of war."

At least three radical guerrilla factions have refused to join the U.N.-proposed meeting to be held in February or March in spite of Pakistan's appeal to them to back the world body's initiative.

Islamabad, which has provided military backing to the rebels for more than a decade, announced this week that it would fully support the U.N. move.

"Waiting for the last Afghan to join the peace process will inevitably be a waste of time and the loss of proper opportunities. These opportunities should be utilised and not be lost as a result of the pretexts of a few," Najibollah said.

Reiterating Kabul's right to participate in the intra-Afghan meeting, Najibollah said a strong, comprehensive and durable solution would be found only with the participation of all Afghan groups and parties involved in the 13-year-old civil war.

Najibollah said he was delighted at recent "positive developments" for peace in Afghanistan which he said were in harmony with his own policy of national reconciliation launched in 1987.

Following the major shift in Pakistan's Afghan policy, Kabul was ready to take the lead in improving relations with its neighbour, Najibollah added.

Relations between the two countries were strained, but not broken, after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which provoked Pakistan to back an Afghan resistance movement aimed at toppling the Kabul regime.

Najibollah said he had the full backing of his ruling Watan party for the five-point U.N. peace plan and warned that the world would not tolerate attempts by extremists of all shades and colours to block the peace effort.

Asked if former king Zaher Shah would join the peace process at this juncture, Najibollah quipped: "The damaged rail track (to peace) has now been repaired. So he will move rapidly now to join the peace train." The ex-monarch, who has been living in exile in Rome since he was ousted in a military coup in 1979, is being considered as a possible candidate to head the transitional government envisaged under the U.N. plan ahead of elections.

Iran's Red Crescent Society To Send Food Aid

LD2901185392 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran's Red Crescent Society has announced that 20 C-130 aircraft airlifted 180 tonnes of food, clothing, and blankets to Afghanistan's central region.

According to a report from the Central News Unit, the Red Crescent Society had, earlier, airlifted 35 tonnes of food and other needed material for inhabitants of Kabul with two other aircraft.

The Islamic Red Crescent Society has also sent 33 tonnes of food and clothing to camps in the Pakistani town of Peshawar, where Afghan refugees are housed.

Bangladesh

Zia Stresses Peaceful Solution to Problems

BK3001162692 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network in English 1530 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Prime Minister Khaleda Zia has said that Bangladesh firmly believes in peaceful resolution of all controversial issues. She was addressing the graduation ceremony of the 16th Army, 10th Navy, and 12th Air Staff courses at the Defense Services Command and Staff College at Mirpur in Dhaka today. Begum Zia said that Bangladesh upholds the collective conviction and the spirit of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation]. She said this is the cornerstone of our foreign policy in the regional context. The prime minister said that through SAARC Bangladesh hopes to explore and develop new vistas of cooperation and

prosperity. Begum Zia said that besides regular commitments, Bangladesh enjoys a deep and meaningful bilateral and multilateral relations with all the countries represented in the staff college.

Referring to the emergence of Bangladesh, she said our nation was born through an armed struggle and we recall with pride the contributions made by our valiant soldiers, sailors, and airmen during our war of independence. Begum Zia said the role of the armed forces in the task of disaster management and various nation building activities has been very laudable. She said we know [words indistinct] their role in the UN peacekeeping operations during the Gulf war. Seventy-three students including 15 officers from Kenya, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Qatar, Sri Lanka, the United States, and Zambia graduated from the staff college in these courses. Begum Zia also handed over certificates to the successful graduates. The commandant of the college, Major General Mohammad Mahbubur Rahman, also spoke on the occasion.

India

Rao on Human Rights, U.S. Arms Cuts, Israel

BK3101032492 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The prime minister has said the human rights issue should not be used to undermine any country's sovereignty, nor should it be linked with external aid. Mr. Narasimha Rao, who has reached New York to attend the first ever UN Security Council members summit, told newsmen that India has a good track record of respecting human rights. He said Britain has circulated a new draft declaration after India opposed its proposal to invest the 15-member body with authority to supervise human rights and disarmament issues.

On the recent arms reduction proposal by Russia and the United States, the prime minister said New Delhi will evolve a stand only after considering the short and long-term national interests. He denied the government was under pressure to reduce defense expenditure.

About India establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel, Mr. Rao said the mood reflects the changed scenario in West Asia. Earlier, talking to newsmen during a brief stopover at London's Heathrow airport, Mr. Rao said India fully supports the need to strengthen and restructure the United Nations. He said there is also a need to democratize the 15-member Security Council and make it more accountable to the General Assembly.

Rao To Solve Punjab Issue After Elections

BK3101085792 Delhi Doordarshan Television Network in English 1600 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's Message to the Nation—recorded, date and time not given]

[Text] Namaskar [greetings]. Friends! The election process in Punjab has begun. We have fulfilled our commitment to hold elections in Punjab within February 1992. Even as I am speaking to you nominations are being filed for both for the Vidhan Sabha [state assembly] of Punjab and also Lok Sabha.

I am leaving on a foreign tour just now. By the time I come back, this part of the election process will be over. I will, therefore, reiterate before leaving the country that my government is determined to resolve all the outstanding questions regarding Punjab in consultation with the elected state government of Punjab. This I have said before and I would like to say again. I would also like to add that this is the only way of resolving problems. I see no other way. We are committed to this process and I would like the people of Punjab to know that this commitment will be fulfilled.

It is not fair to keep the people of any part of the country deprived of the democratic process. So, this opportunity is coming to the people of Punjab to exercise their franchise and see that the democratic process for which they have been waiting for a long time is restored now. I have no doubt that they also desire elections in Punjab. Therefore, I would again expect the people as well as all the political parties in Punjab to participate in the elections. I would also urge that in this respect there should be hesitancy on the part of any party and, therefore, all parties should participate and do their duty by the country and by the state of Punjab.

We have made all arrangements for free and fair elections. I am sure that the elections will be smooth and the transition to the democratic set up will be exactly as we intended. I would like to wish you on this occasion all the best and I also pray that the elections in Punjab will usher in an era of peace, prosperity and harmony.

Jai Hind [hail India].

Commentary Welcomes U.S. Aid Plan in '93 Budget

BK3101033992 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Political commentator Sunil Ray commentary]

[Text] Even with pressing domestic problems and increasing pressure on its economy due to recession, the U.S. Administration has not overlooked India's need for development aid. This appears evident from the request the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, made to Congress to step up economic aid to India under various heads. President Bush has proposed a total aid of little over $127 milion to India for fiscal 1993 beginning from the first of October. This proposal came 24 hours after his state of the union message to Congress in which Mr. Bush clearly warned his fellow citizens that we are in hard times. He had, obviously, in mind the grim scenario of rising unemployment which is expected to be further aggravated due to the defense cut of $50 billion. The budget request from President Bush to the Congress

includes $24 million of development assistance. He also sought little over $77 million for India under two titles of Public Law-480 to cover humanitarian assistance, emergency, and for ongoing programs for nutrition. In addition, President Bush has proposed $345,000 under the international military education and training program which, the U.S. official say, is of great mutual benefit.

The proposed aid package certainly is not large compared to India's enormous needs. But it reflects a sense of direction the U.S. Administration is showing toward India in recent times. While the Bush Administration has lost no time in taking note of India's economic liberalization drive coupled with a clean record on the nuclear front, Pakistan failed to win the confidence of the U.S. President on the crucial issue of nuclear nonproliferation. Pakistan is not only clandestinely working on an Islamic nuclear bomb, it has also been boasting of even possessing one. Surely, Pakistan has lost the international confidence and credibility. This is the first time that the American president proposed no new economic and military aid to Pakistan. In the past two years, funds were earmarked, but were not released because Pakistan failed to earn the presidential certification necessary under the Pressler Amendment saying that Islamabad does not possess a nuclear device. The U.S. recognition of India's new economic perspectives and playing fair in nuclear matters would help to chart out future course of bilateral cooperation on a better footing.

Iran

Further on Visit of German Justice Minister

Tehran Seeking 'Goodwill Gesture'

NC3001191492 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Pro-Iranian sources have said that Iran is looking for a goodwill gesture from Germany to pave the way before the release of the last two Western hostages held in Lebanon.

German Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel, who is currently visiting Tehran for three days, has asked Iran to use its influence with the hostage-takers, who support Iran, to release the two Germans, Kemptner and Struebig.

A source said it is certain that Iranian officials want the two Germans released, but they are working on informing Bonn that they need some concessions to activate the process.

Chief Justice, FRG's Kinkel Confer

LD3001220492 Tehran IRNA in English 1540 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 29, IRNA—Islamic laws attach more importance to the individual and social rights of the people, Chief Justice Ayatollah Morteza Moqtada'i told German Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel today.

He pointed out to the visitor that "Western countries' allegations of human rights violations in Iran arises out of their ignorance of the judicial laws of Islam."

The ayatollah went on to explain the position of "qazi" (judge) according to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, and said since the judiciary in Iran is quite distinct from the other branches of government, "the qazi in the Islamic Republic judicial system is a totally independent person not under the influence of any others, and deals with each and every case according to his best discretion, passing the judgement within the framework of the law."

The German minister expressed "great pleasure" with Iran's "independent judiciary", and said "our judicial system and laws in Germany bear striking similarity."

Earlier today, Kinkel met head of the judiciary Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi, who described Germany as the "heart of Europe", and said it can play a major role for the human society.

He said Iran was planning "effective measures for defending human rights."

Kinkel replied that Germany is keen on further "strengthening and expansion" of ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and was pleased with his visit to the Islamic Republic.

The German justice minister who arrived Tuesday at the invitation of his Iranian counterpart Hojjat ol-Eslam Esma'il Shushtari, has also conferred with prosecutor general Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Abolfazl Musavi Tabrizi.

Meeting With Velayati

LD3001230292 Tehran IRNA in English 1744 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 29, IRNA—In a meeting with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati here today, German Minister of Justice Klaus Kinkel called for exchange of views between law and judicial organisations of the two countries to help promote better understanding.

Kinkel expressed his country's interest to promote ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and said, "the German people are not aware of Islamic laws but some efforts have been made to make them familiar with the issues."

Velayati welcomed as "fruitful and positive" exchange of views in the judicial affairs, and suggested that German researchers in Islam visit Iran and cooperate with Iranian scholars.

In a separate meeting with Interior Minister Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Abdollah Nuri today, Kinkel was thanked for German relief aid to Iran during the June 1990 earthquake.

The German justice minister who arrived Tuesday, was greatly impressed by Iran's Islamic judicial system during talks with judiciary officials today.

Talks With Vice President Habibi

LD3001231292 Tehran IRNA in English 1103 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 30, IRNA—Visiting German Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel met with First Vice-President Hasan Habibi here Thursday and discussed Tehran-Bonn relations and judicial and key international questions.

The German minister said that it is time for the West to pay greater attention to Islam and understand its political and legal aspects. "One must not ignore that Islam is increasingly spreading throughout the world," he pointed out.

Kinkel described as "positive" his talks with the judicial officials adding that Germany attaches great importance to expansion of its good relations with Iran in all domains. "Germany considers Iran as the most significant regional power," he reiterated.

Habibi replied that Iran favors establishment and expansion of bilateral ties with the world countries on the basis of good will. He added that Tehran is interested in promoting her relations with Bonn.

The meeting was also attended by Justice Minister Hojjat ol-Eslam Esma'il Shushtari.

The two sides also discussed key international issues and underlined the need for further strengthening of Tehran-Bonn ties in all dimensions.

The German minister arrived here on a three-day official visit last Tuesday.

Meanwhile, Kinkel met with head of the Majlis judicial commission Hojjat ol-Eslam Amid Janjani Wednesday.

The two sides described as "fruitful" holding of such meetings and stressed the need for expansion of Tehran-Bonn ties and in judicial affairs as well as exchange of experiences.

Kinkel Departs Tehran 30 Jan

LD3001231892 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] German Justice Minister Kinkel left Tehran this afternoon. He was seen off by Justice Minister Shushtari.

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] During an interview with our correspondent, Kinkel termed the outcome of his talks with our country's judicial officials as positive. He said: This trip could provide suitable grounds for cooperation in legal and judicial matters between our two countries.

The German justice minister continued: Cooperation in judicial matters and the exchange of legal experience between Iran and Germany were assessed during this visit. Officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran were informed of Germany's request for Iran's cooperation in the release of the German hostages in Lebanon.

Justice Minister Shushtari said: The German justice minister's visit could provide suitable grounds for judicial cooperation between Iran, Germany, the European Community, and other international circles.

He added: Cooperation in combating narcotics was also assessed during talks with the German justice minister. [end recording]

Opposition on 'Sporadic' Iran-Iraq Border Clashes

TA2901211692 (Clandestine) Iran's Flag of Freedom Radio in Persian 0645 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] According to reports from various areas along the Iran-Iraq border, military movements have been observed on both sides of the border and the two regimes are deploying Their armed Forces in those areas.

Meanwhile, some anti-Saddam Iraqis who have bases in Iran have managed to infiltrate into Iraqi territory. The latest report from Kermanshah indicates that Iranian and Iraqi border forces have been engaging in sporadic clashes.

Pakistan

Nawaz Sharif Meets PRC Premier in Switzerland

BK3101025692 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Pakistan and China will continue to cooperate with and support each other on major international issues and on settling the Kashmir and Afghanistan problems. This was reaffirmed by the prime ministers of two countries during their talks in the Swiss city of Davos.

Later, Mohammad Nawaz Sharif told newsmen that Kashmir and Afghanistan issues prominently figured during the discussion. He said he briefed Li Peng about the massive violation of human rights by Indian forces in occupied Kashmir. The prime minister said that China also supports Pakistan's policy for a peaceful and political settlement of Afghanistan.

The prime minister said international relations and major changes taking place in the world were some other subjects over which he exchanged views with his Chinese counterpart. We also held an in-depth review of the moves to protect rights of small states in the new world order. Matters of bilateral interest and measures to further strengthen and consolidate Pakistan-China ties.

Briefing newsmen about details of the talks, Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Khan said that the Chinese prime minister reassured that China will continue cooperation with Pakistan as always. Li Peng also assured Mohammad Nawaz Sharif that China's relations with any other country will not affect Pakistan-China friendship and cooperation.

President Remarks on UN Afghan Proposal

BK3001160492 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has said that Pakistan's support to the UN secretary general's five-point formula for an Afghan settlement is a reaffirmation of our policy decision made months before. He was talking to newsmen in Islamabad today after laying the foundation stone of the Federal Shariat Court Building. He said there is no shift in Pakistan's policy toward a political solution of the Afghan problem. Since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan it has been Pakistan's endeavor to arrive at a political settlement of the Afghan problem.

During the last two and half years, he said, we have done our best in this regard and have also persuaded the Afghan mojahedin to agree to it. They also wanted a political settlement.

The president said that the Pakistani leaders have held talks with the UN secretary general and leaders of Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United States, and the former Soviet Union for a political solution of the Afghan issue. The secretary general in his report in October last year had said that a consensus existed among all parties on the five-point formula. However, he did not give certain details in the report.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan said that he himself had a meeting with the UN secretary general in Tehran and held talks with the Afghan mojahedin on several occasions and explained to them some important points of the UN secretary general's formula. These points call for the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan through consultations among Afghan parties. The interim government will enjoy full administrative authority and will not include any controversial figures. He also referred to the Afghan mojahedin delegations' visits to the United States and former Soviet Union and Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's visit to Pakistan. It was acknowledged for the first time that an Islamic government should be established in Afghanistan with which Pakistan will be fully satisfied, the president added.

Referring to the political situation in the country, the president said that he is not opposed to a political dialogue between Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif and opposition leader Benazir Bhutto. In reply to a question, he said that his door is always open for Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and he has never refused to meet him.

Sri Lanka

Bombs Explode in Market; LTTE Suspected

BK3001062892 Hong Kong AFP in English 0604 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Colombo, Jan 30 (AFP)—Powerful bombs rigged on two bicycles went off in a crowded market in east Sri Lanka Thursday, killing two people and wounding eight, local officials said.

Suspected Tamil guerrillas left the cycles at the main bazaar in the Moslem township of Karthankudy and fled minutes before the blast ripped through small shops and boutiques, officials said.

A military spokesman here said all the victims were civilians and the attack appeared to be the work of the dominant Tamil separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

The LTTE was accused by the military of killing 16 soldiers in two separate incidents in the embattled region Wednesday. The guerrillas are fighting to establish a separate state for Sri Lanka's two million Tamil minority.

Army Confrontation With LTTE Detailed

BK3001115692 Colombo Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation International Service in English 1045 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The security forces are engaged in a confrontation with the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] near the border of Polannaruwa and Batticaloa Districts. Eight national guards and five soldiers were killed yesterday when 50 to 70 LTTE terrorists attacked a security forces patrol at a point between Singhapura and Welikande. The Joint Operations Command told LANKAPUVATH that the incident occurred when the army patrol (?inside) the Singhapura camp was ambushed by several groups of terrorists. Troop reinforcements rushed to the scene from the army detachements at Singhapura, Welikande, and Kandakadu and engaged the terrorists in the fight which lasted about 45 minutes. The terrorists retreated carrying their wounded. Troops have mounted an operation to track down the LTTE terrorists responsible for the attack.

Meanwhile, five hardcore JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna] subversives and one of their military wing leader were arrested. The JVP leader is believed to have committed two daring armed robberies totalling 2 million rupees in the suburbs of Colombo. The raid was conducted by a squad of detectives led by I. Devasundara, officer in charge of the crime detection bureau of (Slevailan). Part of the robbed cash was recovered.

Soldiers Found Guilty in June 'Killing Spree'

BK3001130492 Hong Kong AFP in English 1201 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Colombo, Jan 30 (AFP)—Sri Lankan soldiers deliberately killed 67 civilians after two colleagues were blown up in a Tamil guerrilla ambush, President Ranasinghe Premadasa said in a report released here Thursday. Premadasa told his cabinet Wednesday a special commission appointed by him to investigate the June killings of Tamil civilians in eastern Kokkadicholai region found it had been a "deliberate retaliatory attack."

"The death of the civilians was not the result of any military action, but due to the unrestrained behaviour of

certain soldiers who were provoked by the death of two of their colleagues," the commission said in its report.

Tamil legislators welcomed the probe, but suggested more needed to be done. Suresh Premachandran, an MP from the opposition Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), said the first commission ever to investigate military excesses had made a "good beginning. But it looks more like a move to appease the (foreign) aid consortium rather than do justice to the (minority) Tamils," he said.

Sri Lanka is to seek 900 million dollars in commodity and development aid at a meeting early next month of Western donors, who gave one billion dollars last year after reprimanding Colombo for its human rights record.

Tamil MP Joseph Pararajasingham, who was the first to complain to Premadasa about the massacre, said he was happy the soldiers had been found guilty but wanted other similar cases investigated.

The three-man commission, comprising two retired Supreme Court judges and a retired civil servant, sat for nearly seven months and interviewing 167 witnesses before concluding the soldiers had acted in retaliation.

Ranil Wickremesinghe, industries minister and government spokesman, told reporters the commission would shortly make a detailed report on what action would be taken against the offenders and suggest measures to avoid such an incident from recurring.

Military spokesman Colonel Sarath Munasinghe said one officer and four soldiers from the Kokkadicholai army camp were still in detention and that court martial proceedings would begin after the commission's final report.

The soldiers went on a killing spree after guerrillas of the dominant Tamil separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), blew up two colleagues travelling in a tractor trailor. Rampaging troops threw 17 civilians into the crater caused by the blast and set fire to them, while 40 more were burnt inside a nearby rice mill, according to witnesses.

Pararajasingham said he also wanted a fresh inquiry into the disappearance of 38 people from the area after the incident. The troops destroyed more than 150 houses, a rice mill and several vehicles in three villages in the area, according to Tamil politicians.

Colombo-based Western diplomats have expressed concern over the inquiry's slow progress and they said they believed the timing of the interim report was probably for the sake of the international community.

The government earlier in the month sent a top police official on compulsory leave and local press reports Thursday said that senior officers were to be punished for alleged human rights violations.

A visiting Canadian fact-finding mission Wednesday accused Colombo of continuing abuses—including arbitrary arrest, torture and death—despite assurances to international human rights organisations.